

JFK SHOOTING: WHAT NEWLY RELEASED DOCUMENTS REVEAL

AMERICAN HISTORY

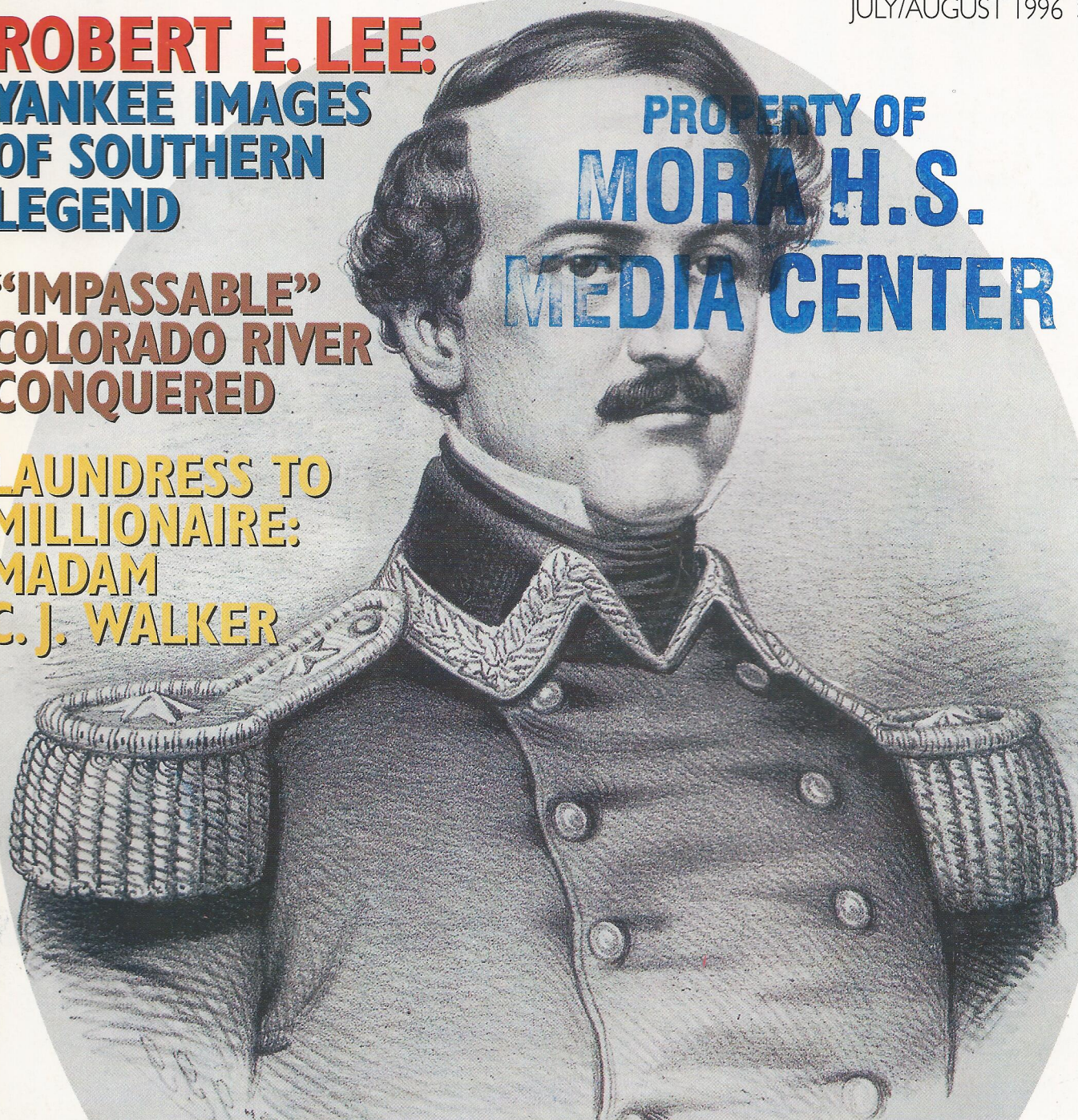
JULY/AUGUST 1996 \$3.95

ROBERT E. LEE:
YANKEE IMAGES
OF SOUTHERN
LEGEND

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COLORADO RIVER
CONQUERED

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MADAM
C. J. WALKER

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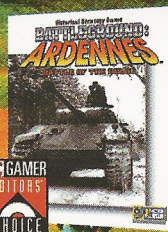
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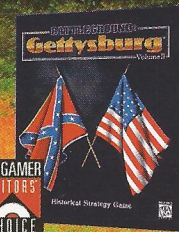
-Bill Trotter, PC Gamer-

"TalonSoft blows up traditional war games!"

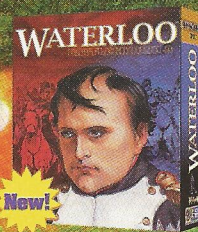
-Grant Willis, The Army Times-



Battleground 1
Ardennes



Battleground 2
Gettysburg



Battleground 3
Waterloo

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Grant Willis—The Army Times

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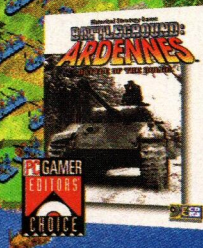
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Head**
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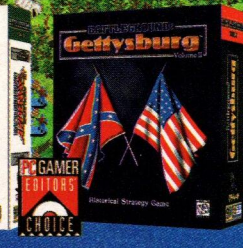


Actual PC Screen showing
Rebel assault on Union troops

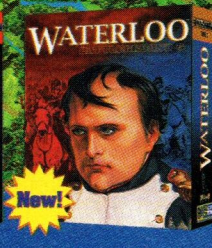
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EDITOR'S DESK

thoughts on history

We Americans love souvenirs. As we travel, we snatch up goods that remind us of where we have been or what we have done. When significant events occur, we do the same. We have our Million Man March T-shirts, our Operation Desert Storm collectors' plates, our D-Day fiftieth-anniversary coffee mugs. We have come to accept that many of these things are made outside the United States.

But I can remember people being upset in the years immediately following World War II, when such patriotic souvenirs as miniature versions of the Statue of Liberty bore the notation "Made in Japan." It seemed wrong to many that a former enemy was manufacturing these symbols of our nation for sale to our citizens.

I was reminded of this as I read Harold Holzer's article for this issue, which begins on page 28. For Southerners, there were few more patriotic symbols of the Confederacy than the images of such heroes as General Robert E. Lee. Yet, as Holzer points out, any Southerner wishing to display a print of the famed general in his home had to patronize printmakers and publishers from the North. Early on in the war, the South's printing industry was brought to a halt. Once the war ended, however, Northern firms were only too happy to fill the void by producing separate-sheet display prints of the Union's recent adversary, such as the one shown above, to sell to Southerners.

Also in this issue, Roger S. Peterson reveals some of the latest findings that have come to light as a result of the 1992 passage of the JFK Records Act (page 22). That legislation, which established the federally-appointed Assassination Records Review Board, also cleared the way for the declassification of many previously restricted documents. Like many Americans, Peterson was never

convinced by the findings of the Warren Commission that investigated the 1963 murder of President John F. Kennedy. After thirty years of actively following the gradual unraveling of the mysteries surrounding the Kennedy assassination, and especially given the evidence released since 1992, Peterson is satisfied that the president was shot from the front, making it impossible for Lee Harvey Oswald to have been the lone gunman, as the Warren Commission indicated in its 1964 Report.

In a very different vein, Joseph Gustaitis—with Olympiad XXVI about to begin in Atlanta, Georgia—reports on the first of the modern Olympic Games, which were held in Athens, Greece, a century ago (page 48). One of the 13 men sent to those Games by the United States became the first athlete in more than 1,500 years to win an Olympic event.

This year also marks the centennial of the automotive industry, which began with the marketing of the Duryea horseless carriage in 1896. Jerry LeBlanc salutes this important milestone in American life by examining the steam-driven motor cars manufactured by a set of New England twins, F. E. and F. O. Stanley (page 16).

Rounding out the issue are the stories of two courageous Americans who defied the odds to accomplish remarkable things. Carolyn J. Hursch recounts the 1869 journey of John Wesley Powell, the one-armed explorer who led the first expedition to navigate the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon (page 34). And, A'Leia Bundles highlights the rise of her great-great-grandmother, Madam C. J. Walker, from poverty in rural Louisiana to a place as one of the most important African-American entrepreneurs of her day (page 42).

—Margaret Fortier



THE LINCOLN MUSEUM

AMERICAN HISTORY®

Vol. XXXI No. 3

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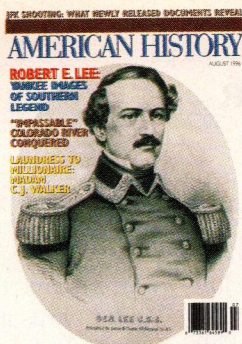
by Jerry LeBlanc/
When an oddly-shaped Stanley racer was clocked at more than two miles per minute in 1906, it looked as though steam-powered automobiles represented the wave of the future.

22 DECLASSIFIED

by Roger S. Peterson/
Since its creation in 1992, the Assassination Records Review Board has released documents that shed a disturbing light on the 1963 shooting of President John F. Kennedy.



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The portrait of General Robert E. Lee by C. G. Crehen gracing the cover of this issue was published in 1861 by the New York City firm of Jones & Clark. This image, which depicts Lee as he appeared during his service in the U.S. Army in the 1840s, was the only separate-sheet display print—one “suitable for framing”—marketed during the entire Civil War. Beginning on page 28, Harold Holzer explains how the collapse of the South’s printing industry left production of prints honoring Southern heroes in the hands of Yankee printmakers. Cover image courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Museum, Harrogate, Tennessee.

JULY/AUGUST 1996

28 UNION MADE

by Harold Holzer/
After the Civil War, Southerners had to rely on Northern printmakers for portraits of General Robert E. Lee, one of the Confederacy’s greatest heroes.

34 MAPPING THE COLORADO

by Carolyn J. Hursch/
In 1869, John Wesley Powell defied the myth of the Colorado River’s invincibility & led the first expedition to navigate through the Grand Canyon.

42 MADAM C. J. WALKER

by A’Lelia Bundles/
Born in Delta, Louisiana, to former slaves, Sarah Breedlove Walker founded a business that made her the first female African-American millionaire.



8

48 “ZITO HELLAS!”

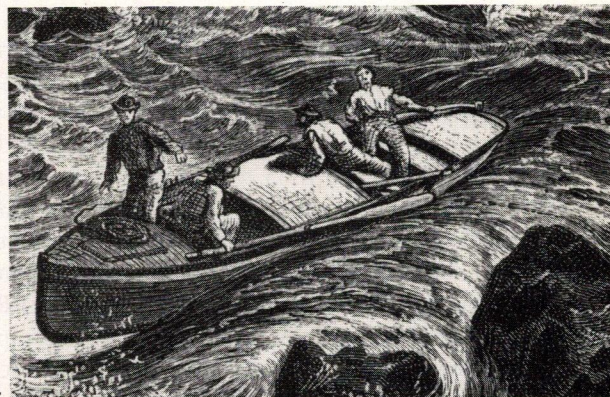
by Joseph Gustaitis/
Their cheers of “Long live Greece!” in the native language helped to secure the popularity of the Americans taking part in the first modern Olympics in 1896.

DEPARTMENTS

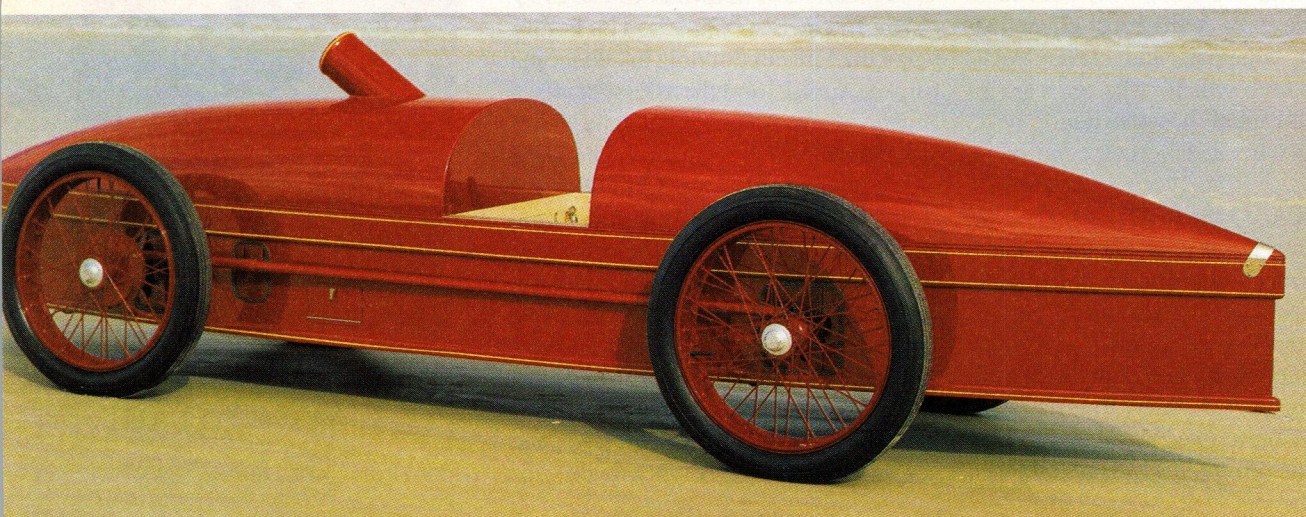
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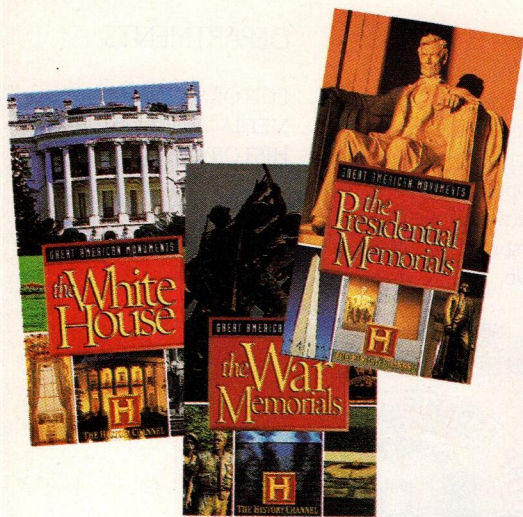
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MEDIA CENTER

history's sights & sounds



THE PRESIDENTIAL MEMORIALS

(Arts & Entertainment Television Networks, \$19.95). Part of the History Channel's Great American Monuments series, this video program presents the colorful history of the tributes built in Washington, D.C., to immortalize three of America's greatest presidents—George Washington (1732-99), Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), and Abraham Lincoln (1809-65). The film reveals such information as why the Washington Monument, dedicated in 1885, took more than thirty years to build; why Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) initiated construction of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial during his presidency; and why President Richard M. Nixon (1913-94) paid a middle-of-the-night visit to the Lincoln Memorial. Also included in the series are **THE WHITE HOUSE**, which offers a rare, inside look at the most cherished house in America, and **THE WAR MEMORIALS**, which visits the sites in the nation's capital chosen to honor those Americans who died for their country.

OLYMPICA: AMERICA'S GOLD

(ABC Video Publishing, \$14.95 each). The gold-medal-winning performances of members of the United States Summer Olympic teams come to life in this two-cassette video set created from the official film archives of the International Olympic Committee. Volume one features the achievements of such athletes

as "Babe" Didrickson Zaharias, Jim Thorpe, Jesse Owens, Bruce Jenner, Carl Lewis, and Jackie Joyner-Kersey, with particular emphasis on the historical significance of their accomplishments. Volume two traces the history of the modern Olympics since the 1896 Games in Athens. Highlights include the 1936 Berlin Games attended by Adolf Hitler; the 1968 Games in Mexico City, where for the first time a woman had the honor of lighting the Olympic flame; the 1972 Munich Games, where cheers turned to tears when 11 Israelis died at the hands of Palestinian terrorists; and the 1984 Los Angeles Games, where the granddaughter of Jesse Owens, the black athlete who angered Hitler by winning four gold medals in Berlin in 1936, carried the Olympic torch into the stadium.

NEZ PERCE MUSIC ARCHIVE FROM THE SAM MORRIS COLLECTION

(Northwest Interpretive Association, \$24.95). The music of the Nez Perce Indian tribe has been preserved, thanks to the efforts of tribal member Sam Morris, who recorded a number of wax cylinders on his Thomas Edison recorder during the years 1909 to 1912. Sound-enhanced recordings are now available on a two CD-ROM set that contains 61 titles encompassing traditional Nez Perce songs, speeches, and Christian hymns.

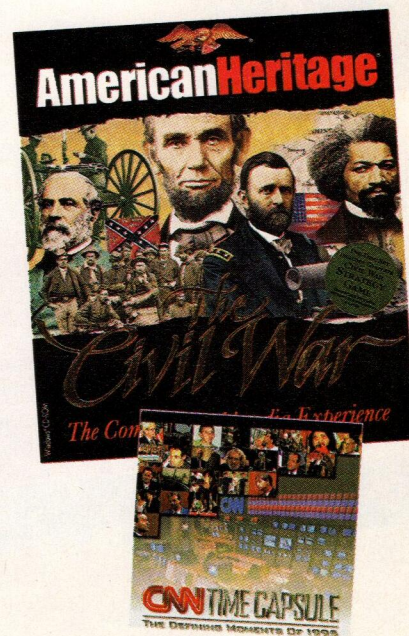
THE DEFINING MOMENTS OF 1995

(CNN Interactive, \$39.95). The bombing of the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City on April 19 and the assassination of Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1922-1995) on November 4 are two of the events covered on this CD-ROM program for Windows and Macintosh. One hundred major events of the year from around the world are presented with the aid of 1,500 pictures, 200 audio clips, printable text, and more than 1,000 statistics. Particulars of the Susan Smith and the O. J. Simpson trials; the "Million Man March" on Washington, D.C.; the deadly sarin gas attack on Tokyo's sub-

way system; the spread of the Ebola "killer" virus in Africa; and the feverish pace of the first hundred days of the U.S. Congress, as the new Republican majority sought to implement their "Contract with America," are reviewed, along with such lighter topics as the Academy Awards and Super Bowl XXIX. Users can also play the News Quiz—designed for one or two players—to test their knowledge of 1995 news trivia.

AMERICAN HERITAGE: THE CIVIL WAR

(Simon & Schuster Interactive, \$54.95). The people, places, and events of the American Civil War can be accessed in this two CD-ROM collection for Windows, which covers such topics as slavery; Northern and Southern military forces; political leaders of both regions; the war's major campaigns; and the music and art that grew out of the conflict. Special features include a live-action host and "virtual soldiers" who explain important events and provide personal narrative; animated maps to track the battles; a multimedia timeline; a library of Civil War literature; a historically accurate military strategy game; and a direct link to the World Wide Web for other Civil War discoveries. ★



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far more expensive and time consuming than other means, but hand engraved guns are always worth more.

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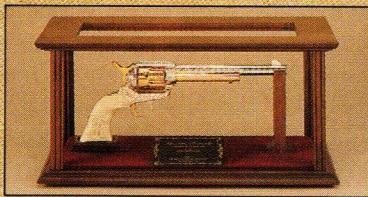
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HISTORY TODAY

news of the past



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THE NEW YORK TIMES CELEBRATES CENTENNIAL

Beginning on June 26, four prominent New York City institutions will help *The New York Times* celebrate the centennial anniversary of Adolph S. Ochs's purchase of the paper, a move that turned the struggling, almost-bankrupt daily into one of the most respected newspapers in the world. Founded in 1851 by James G. Raymond and a group of Albany bankers, the journal enjoyed initial success but experienced difficulties during the post-Civil War years as a result of its stance on the political issues of the day.

Four exhibitions have been built around the theme "Adolph S. Ochs: The Man Who

Changed The Times, A Centennial Celebration of *The New York Times*" to commemorate the man and the newspaper he rescued from oblivion. At **The American Museum of Natural History** (212-769-5100) until September 29, "Scientists and Journalists—One Story, Two Voices: A Century of Science Reporting in *The New York Times*" highlights more than a dozen of the most significant scientific discoveries in the field of human evolution during the last century and examines how such news has been reported by the *Times*.

"Pictures of The Times: A Century of Photography from *The New York Times*," on view at **The Museum of Modern Art** (212-708-9480) until October 1, showcases 150 photographs from the *Times*'s

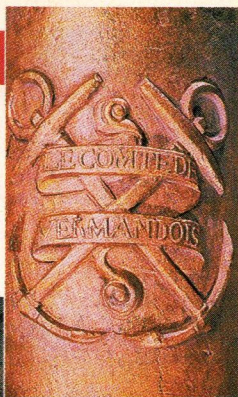
enormous archive, which best demonstrate the quality and variety of photographic images, capturing both historic and ordinary events, which appeared in the newspaper over the years.

Until October 18, the **New York Public Library** (212-930-0800) hosts "Headlines, Deadlines, Bylines: *The New York Times* Morgue, 1896-1996," which presents one hundred stories culled from the paper's archive of more than 22 million clippings. Lastly, in "Documenting The Times: Adolph S. Ochs and the Early Years of *The New York Times*," the **Pierpont Morgan Library** (212-685-0008) traces the early years of the paper through letters, manuscripts, photographs, ephemera, and early editions, including the August 19, 1896 issue in which Ochs outlined his journalistic principles. That exhibit will continue until September 15.

Ochs (1858-1935) took sole control of the declining *Times*, circulation 9,000, on August 18, 1896. The first issue, which appeared the next day, contained his promise "to give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of party, sect, or interests involved . . ." Within a year, Ochs had doubled the paper's circulation, drastically reduced its deficit, launched two new sections, and introduced the paper's slogan, "All the News That's Fit to Print." In the years since, the *Times* has garnered seventy Pulitzer Prizes and currently enjoys a daily circulation of 1.2 million readers. Supervision of the *Times* continues to rest with the Ochs family; published by three generations of Ochs's descendants, the paper has been headed since 1992 by Arthur Sultzberger, Jr., his great-grandson.

FRENCH SHIPWRECK RAISED

The Texas Historical Commission is preparing to raise from the waters of the Gulf of Mexico the remains of a ship believed to be *La Belle*, the six-gun *barque longue* in which René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1643-1687), set out to establish a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River in the 1680s. The ship (loosely termed a "frigate")



CANNON RECOVERED FROM LA BELLE; DETAIL ABOVE

was one of four vessels given by King Louis XIV (1638-1715) to La Salle for the ultimately unsuccessful venture. *La Belle*, which sank in 1686 at Matagorda Bay off the Texas coast, is the oldest French vessel ever located by underwater archaeologists in North America. Her discovery last summer came as a result of a search begun in 1978.

The planned \$3.7-million, six-month recovery of the surviving portion of *La Belle*'s 80-foot-long, 19-foot-wide hull involves construction of a steel cofferdam—begun in April—to encircle the wreck site so that seawater can be pumped from around the ship, allowing archaeologists to work on the dry bay bottom. Artifacts so far recovered include an ornate, six-foot-long bronze cannon; white Faience pottery; pewter plates; and bronze finger rings. After fieldwork and conservation efforts are completed, the remains of the vessel will be pieced together for permanent display at a major museum. *La Belle* is among the nearly 2,000 shipwrecks believed to lie off the 367 miles of Texas shoreline; to date, only 200 have been found.

100 YEARS OF SERVICE

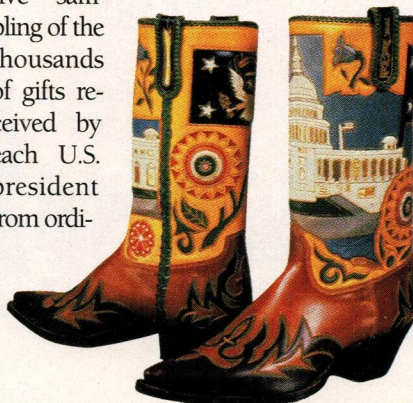
This year, Volunteers of America (VOA), one of the nation's largest and—with more than 150 different programs to help those in need—most diversified non-profit humanitarian agencies marks its hundredth anniversary of service to "God and country" with a variety of commemorative events. "The Centennial Exhibit," a comprehensive touring exhibition with a national itinerary that in-

cludes the Republican Party National Convention in San Diego, California, during August 10-16, employs documents, artifacts, and photographs to trace the organization's first century. For students of all ages, the VOA has prepared an in-depth study kit on the role of charitable organizations in American society. Included in the kit is a videotape adaptation of the acclaimed Public Television program "The Visionaries," which relates the VOA's history, mission, and present-day work. The organization also has launched a web site—<http://www.voa.org>—where users can access information about the VOA's history and programs, as well as volunteer opportunities.

Founded on March 8, 1896 by Christian social reformers Ballington (1857-1940) and Maud (1865-1948) Booth to "reach and uplift" the American people, VOA now has 20,000 active volunteers in 219 communities across the country.

WHAT TO GIVE A PRESIDENT?

"Tokens and Treasures: Gifts to Twelve Presidents," an exhibition at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., until February 2, 1997, showcases more than two hundred items that were given as gifts to American chief executives from Herbert Hoover (1874-1964) to Bill Clinton (1946-). From mementoes of Peruvian independence presented to President Hoover in 1929 to a recently proffered caricature carving of President Clinton, the items displayed are a representative sampling of the thousands of gifts received by each U.S. president from ordi-



nary citizens and foreign dignitaries. The objects are drawn from the gift collections of the presidential libraries that are administered by the National Archives and Records Administration. For more information call 202-501-5500.

"WINSLOW HOMER" AT METROPOLITAN

New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art presents until September 22 a comprehensive exhibition of the works of American artist Winslow Homer (1836-1910). Organized by the National Gallery



PRISONERS FROM THE FRONT, 1866

of Art in Washington, D.C., the show comprises 80 paintings and 110 drawings and watercolors by the man best known for his realistic seascapes. The featured artworks chronicle the artist's creative process and address every aspect of his career. Included are the Civil War and Reconstruction-era renderings, land- and seascapes, and the dramatic paintings from his later life. For more information call 212-879-5500.

U. S.-CANADA BORDER ANNIVERSARY

On August 10-11, exactly two hundred years after the 1796 transfer of Fort Niagara from British to U.S. control, which established the Niagara River as the border between the United States and Canada, numerous events will be staged at Old Fort Niagara State Park in Youngstown, New York. Planned activities will include living-history demonstrations of British and U.S. military life at the post; fife-and-drum con-

continued on page 70

BOOKSHELF

new history titles

RISE OF THE NEW YORK SKYSCRAPER, 1865—1913

by Sarah Bradford Landau and Carl W. Condit (Yale University Press, 496 pages, \$50.00). The history of New York's first skyscrapers is chronicled in this definitive book that shows, with the aid of 209 black and white photographs, drawings, and building plans, how the development of this new type of structure transformed the appearance and shape of the city. Detailed are the 1888 construction of the 13-story New York Times Building, which was erected around its 1857 predecessor; the Woolworth Building, whose owner, F.W. Woolworth, not only wanted the highest skyscraper in New York—the main block rose 30 stories, with the tower adding another 25—he wanted the most original; and the New York Produce Exchange, which, though only 10 stories high, was considered one of the great buildings of the age due to its architectural design and its construction technology.

1846: PORTRAIT OF A NATION

by Margaret C. S. Christman (Smithsonian Institution Press, 212 pages, \$24.95, paper). Almost 200 images, 77 in color, vividly illustrate Christman's account of one of the seminal years in American history. Published in connection with the National Portrait Gallery's exhibition of the same name, the book presents the

young republic's push to settle the West, which brought about such memorable events as the Mexican War, the journeys of Mormon leader Brigham Young (1801-77), and the tragedy of the Donner Party; its steady movement toward sectional division between the North and South on the issue of slavery; its cultural growth in art and literature; and its establishment of a national museum in Washington, D.C., thanks to the bequest of James Smithson (1765-1829).

BLAST FROM THE PAST: A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF RADIO'S FIRST 75 YEARS

by B. Eric Rhoads (Streamline Publishing, Inc., 472 pages, \$39.95). Rhoads takes readers on a visual journey through the development of radio, beginning with the first commercial radio broadcast on November 2, 1920, when KDKA in Pittsburgh announced the results of the Warren G. Harding-James M. Cox presidential election. The author traces the progress of the medium through the Great Depression, when radio provided the only entertainment many could afford; the 1940s, when all networks cooperated to provide star-filled programs that could be sent to the soldiers serving overseas during World War II; the lean '50s, when televi-

sion eclipsed radio in popularity, threatening its demise; the "payola" scandal of the 1960s, when deejays were accused of taking bribes in exchange for playing certain records on the air; the perfection of new forms of "Top 40" stations during the 1970s and '80s, which brought a new generation of listeners their favorite "pop" music; and the more recent development of "talk radio" that has made national celebrities of such hosts as Rush Limbaugh and G. Gordon Liddy. More than nine hundred rare photographs complement the text and provide the reader with a unique look at the annals of radio. Available only by calling 800-226-7857.

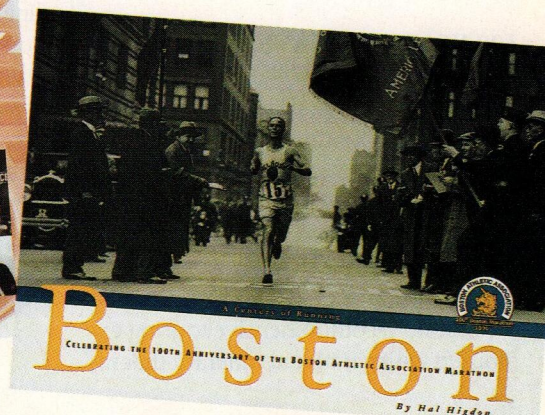
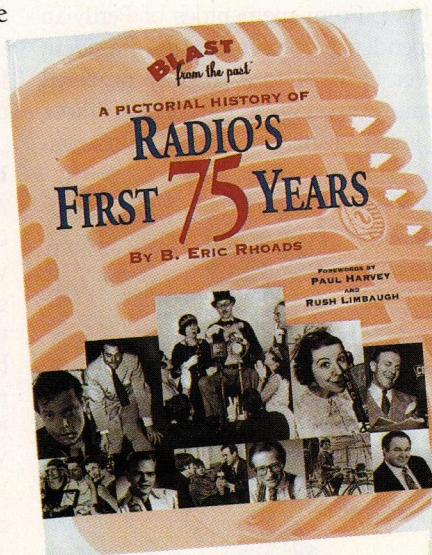
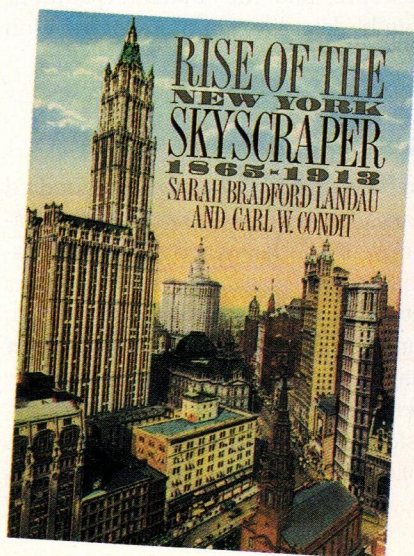
BOSTON: A CENTURY OF RUNNING

by Hal Higdon (Rodale Press, Inc., 256 pages, \$40.00). On April 19, 1897, 15 runners gathered together in Ashland, Massachusetts, to run 25 miles into the city of Boston. On April 15, 1996, more than 25,000 runners ran the same route, thus celebrating the one hundredth running of the Boston Marathon. With the assistance of more than two hundred historical and modern-day photographs, Higdon traces the history of the race—which was inspired by the first modern Olympic Marathon, held in Greece in 1896—through the accounts of those runners who competed in the best-known footrace in the world.

OLYMPIC BLACK WOMEN

by Martha Ward Plowden (Pelican Publishing, 174 pages, \$16.95). This com-

continued on page 68



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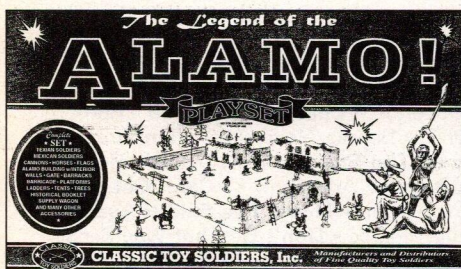
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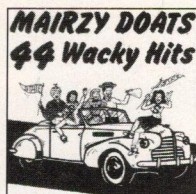
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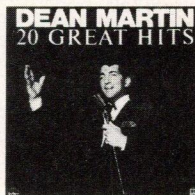
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readers' letters

SEQUEL TO "THE BEAST OF BATAAN"

With the article, "Beast of Bataan" [March/April 1996 issue], the trial of Japanese General Homma Masaharu is public knowledge. However, there is more to the Homma story.

After his trial Homma was confined in Bilibid prison, some 40 miles south of Manila. At 0030 hours on April 2, 1946, he was secretly taken to the Philippine Detention & Rehabilitation Center at Los Baños to be executed. As the adjutant of the center, I was asked to read the Military Commission General Order to Homma and advise him of the hour of execution.

At 0100 hours, I entered the holding cell. Homma was sitting on a small cot and remained there as I commenced reading. The order followed the format of a General Court Martial Order—charges, specifications, findings, sentence, and the action of the reviewing authority, in this instance General Douglas MacArthur. This order was unique in that the reviewer did not confine himself to the usual: "The sentence is approved and will be duly executed." This review was two legal-sized, single-spaced pages long.

The first half of the review was a detailed listing of atrocities committed by Homma's forces. Through this part, Homma sat impassively. Then followed an exhaustive account of his record as commander. At this point Homma rose to attention, obviously angered. The review of his command experience ended by concluding that Homma had not been a competent commander at any level. This was followed by the formal approval of the sentence.

Then, as directed, I told Homma that the execution would occur at 0200 hours—about thirty minutes later. Still at attention, and looking at me straight in the eye, the general spoke these words: "Captain, I am being shot tonight because we lost the war."

After the execution I filled in the time of death on the proper form and gave it

and the only copy of the Military Commission Order to the officer courier to take back to Army headquarters in Manila. Now wide awake (0300 hours), I went to my office and thought about what had happened. To this young American captain two points seemed crystal clear. First, the execution of Homma established a precedent regarding a commander's criminal responsibility for the behavior of his soldiers—a precedent that the military profession would one day regret. Second, that Douglas MacArthur had revenged the 1942 defeat of his forces in the Philippines by Japanese forces under the command of Homma.

Added. At the time, I was under oral orders from MacArthur's headquarters to return the single copy of the Military Commission Order without making any copies, not to speak publicly of the matter, and not to publish anything about it. With the passage of fifty years and the printing of the Cook article, I am confident that those orders are no longer binding.

Ivan J. Birrer, Col. U. S. Army (Ret.)
Leavenworth, Kansas

HOMMA'S EXCUSE IS NO-EXCUSE

The article on General Homma Masaharu's trial misses a couple of key points; first, the most fixed dictate in the American Army is that the "... Commander is responsible for EVERYTHING his (or her!) soldiers do or fail to do." "I didn't know" is not an acceptable excuse because it is the commander's duty to know.

Secondly, Homma told off a Japanese four-star general who condoned the rape of Nanking (denied to have happened by many in Japan to this day). Since he was aware that his Army had been responsible for such savagery in the recent past, Homma should have taken it upon himself to conduct in-depth personal visits to areas under his command, especially in view of the large number of prisoners his forces had captured.

Michael F. Scotto, Lt. Col. USAR
Smithtown, New York

MORE THAN ONE NIPPER

In the March/April 1996 issue of *American History* I was most interested in "Trade-mark Returns Home" in your "History Today" department. I agree that Baltimore City Life Museums can be justly proud of the return of their "Nipper." However, we in Albany, New York, take equal pride in

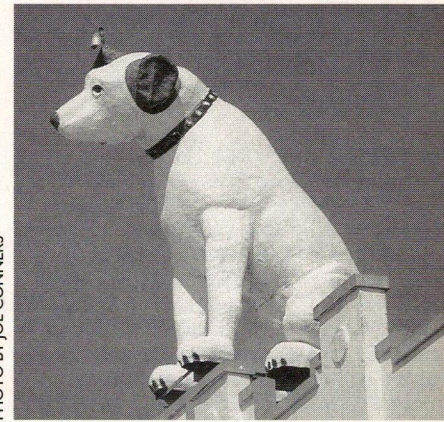


PHOTO BY JOE CONNERS

our RCA "Nipper." Enclosed is a post card of our big dog (above).

On North Broadway in Albany a building that was erected in 1912 was first the location of American Gas Meter Company. In 1958 the building was purchased by RTA, distributors of RCA electrical appliances. It was at that time a twenty-five-foot, four-ton "Nipper" was raised by means of cranes to the roof of the building, where he remains to this day.

You will note the beanie Nipper is wearing, which has an aircraft beacon on top that is lit at night to prevent any airplanes from crashing into our wonderful big dog.

Virginia B. Bowers
Albany, New York

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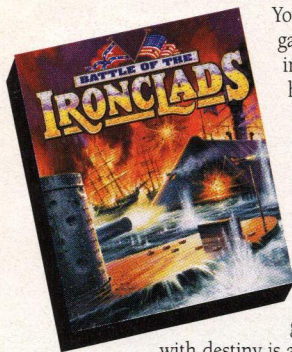
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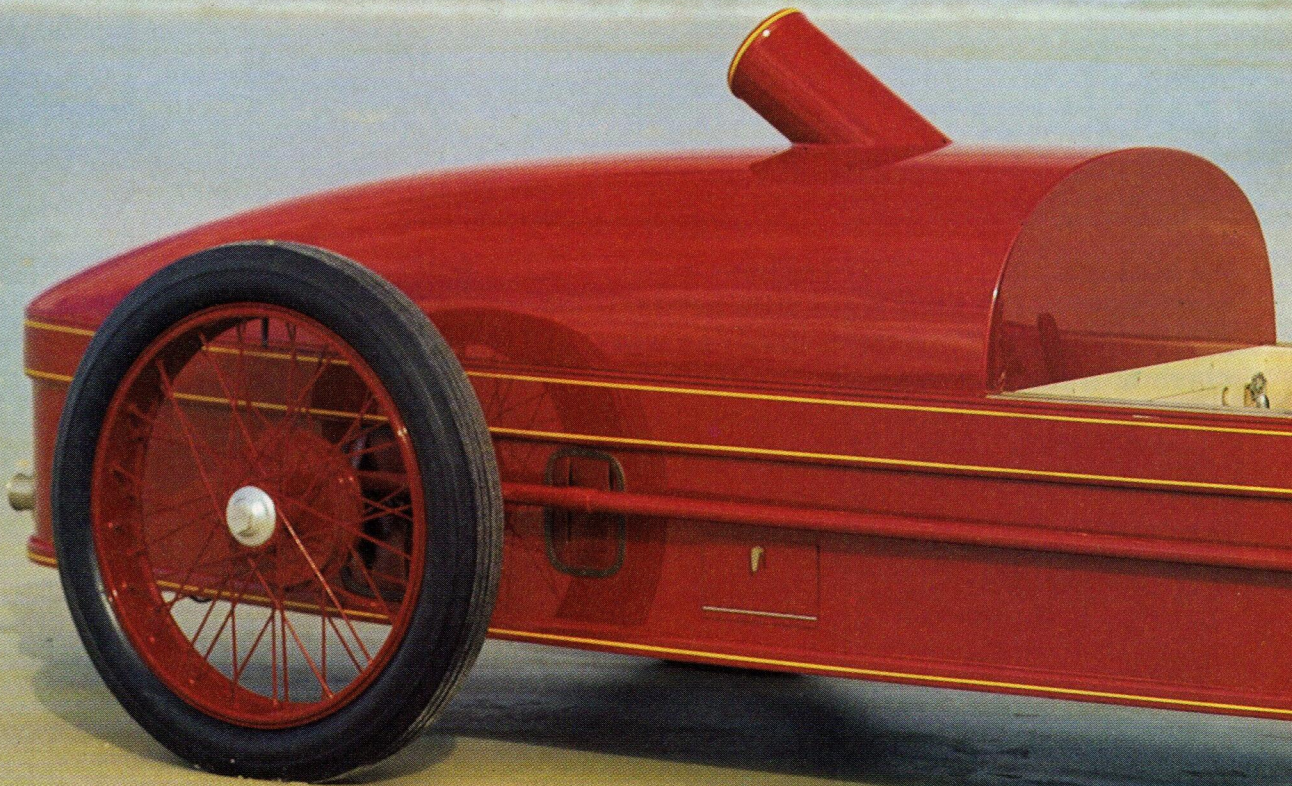
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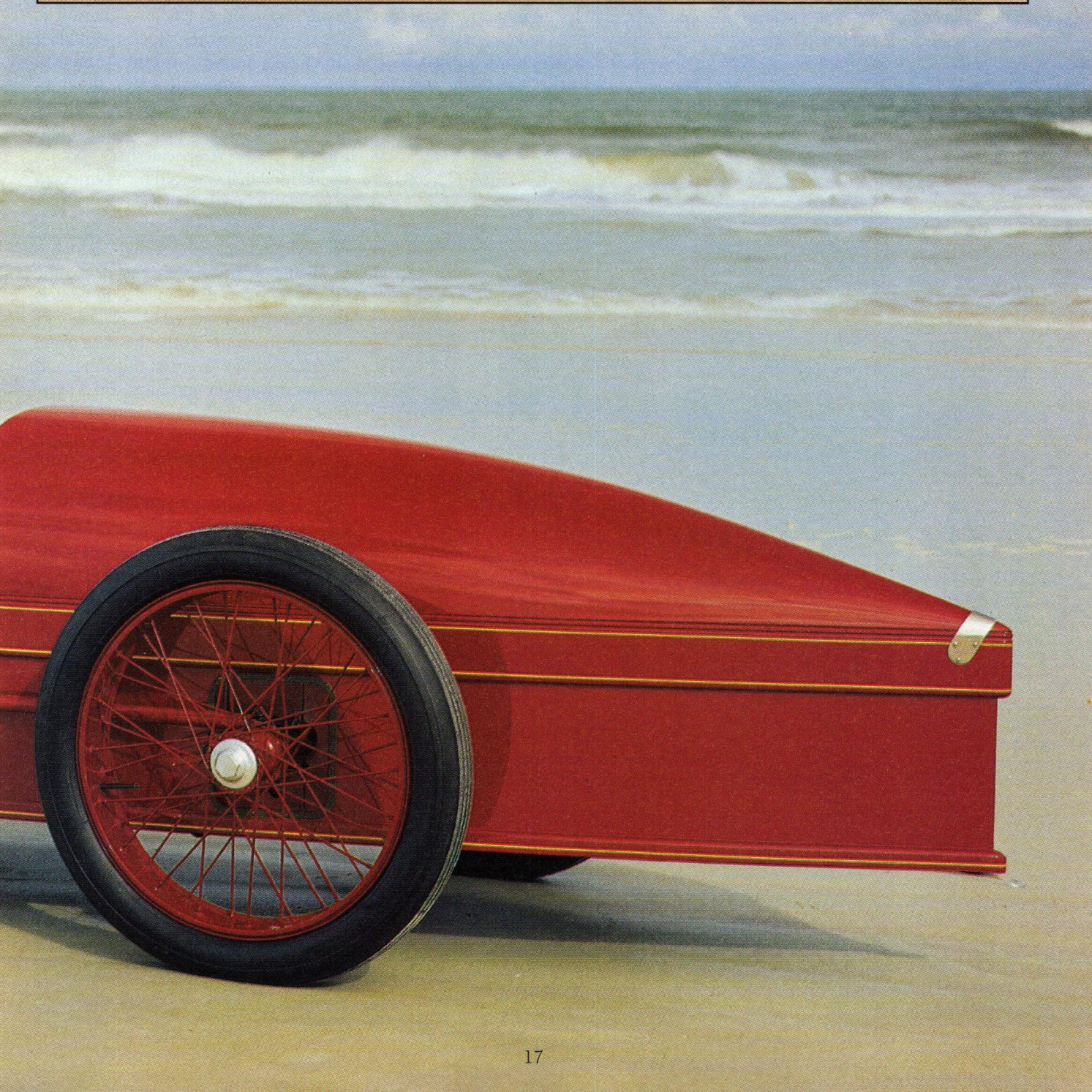
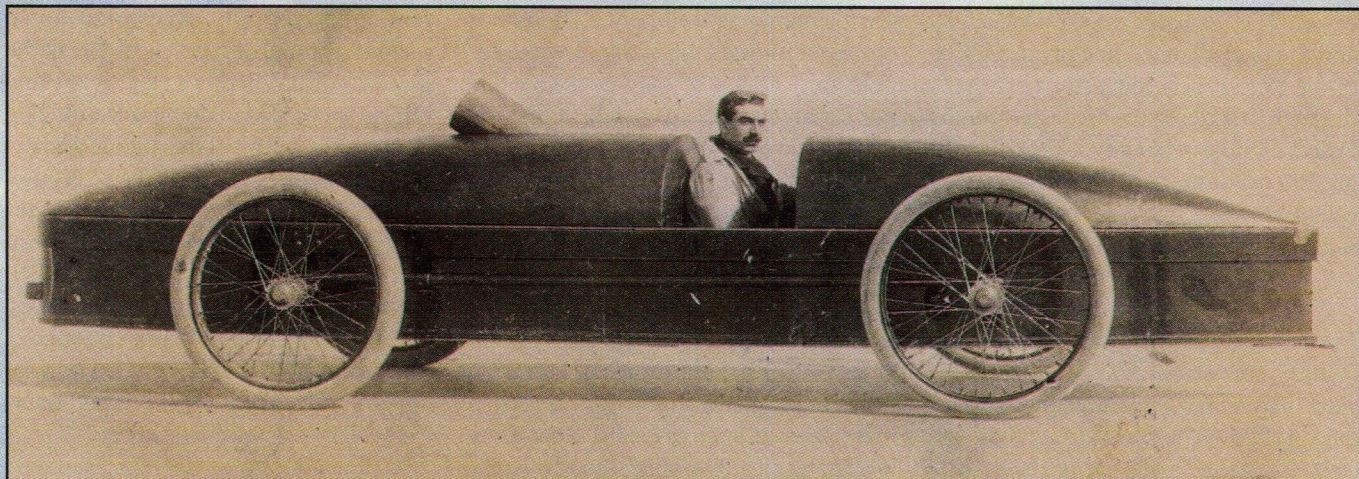


THE STEAMER AGE

BY JERRY LEBLANC WHEN AN ODDLY-SHAPED STANLEY RACER WAS CLOCKED AT MORE THAN 2 MILES PER MINUTE IN 1906, IT LOOKED AS THOUGH STEAM-POWERED AUTOMOBILES REPRESENTED THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE.



THE AUTOMOBILE QUARTERLY PHOTO AND RESEARCH LIBRARY



IT WAS "The battle for the Crown Trophy and the unchallenged title of Speed King of the World" according to a newspaper dispatch describing the scene at Ormond Beach, Florida, in January 1906, when the greatest new automotive inventions—still called horseless carriages by many—assembled for a series of races designed to

test their power and efficiency. Thousands of spectators lined the 500-foot-wide, 23-mile-long stretch of hard-packed white sand that formed an excellent natural racetrack at the edge of the surf.

Many of those on hand speculated that someone was going to try to break the world land-speed record. Rumors even circulated about a speed of two-miles-a-minute, an incredible mark achieved up to then only by the fastest railroad engines on special all-out runs. Not even the fledgling aeroplanes could approach that speed. If such a record were to be broken by an automobile, the fans wanted to be able to tell their grandchildren that they watched it happen.

Automobile makers, who had been struggling to demonstrate the new in-

vention's superiority over horse-drawn wagons, wanted desperately to break the speed record. Whether a steam-powered vehicle succeeded in doing so would be a factor in the future of the auto industry.

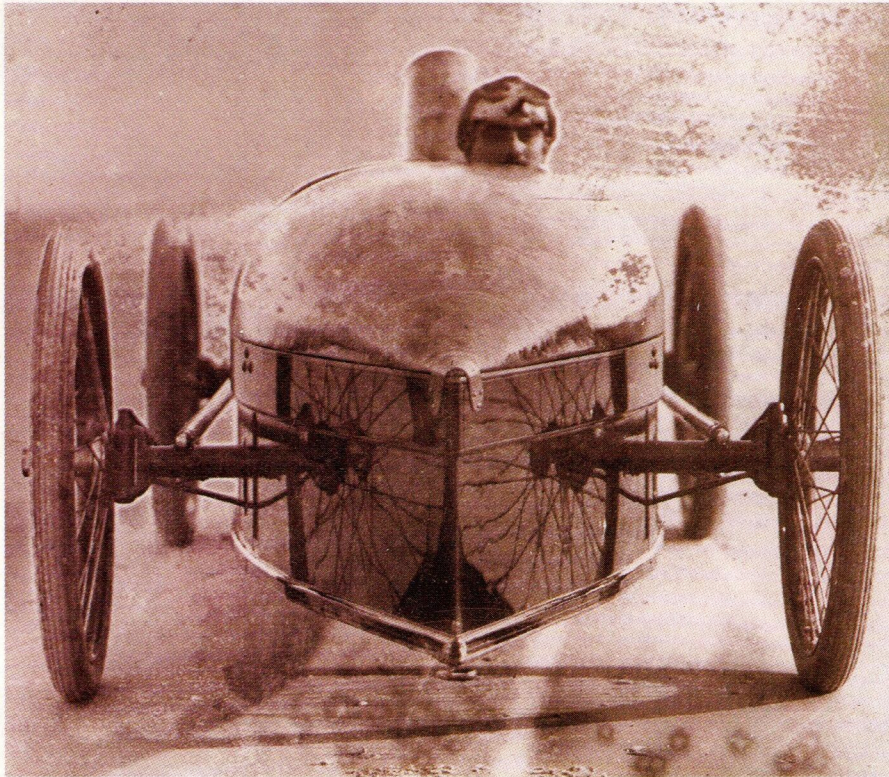
Understandably then, all the great automobile makers of Europe were represented at this American Automobile Association-sponsored competition. The participants' names were impressive: Mercedes, Fiat, Maxwell, Napier, Daimler, Darracq. And competing drivers included now-famous auto makers Henry Ford, Louis Chevrolet, and Vincenzo Lancia.

A flimsy-looking, thirty-horsepower Stanley Steamer, which fans, ignoring its posted name—the Rocket—dubbed "the Flying Teapot," was the surprise of the meet. Its laurels already secure from previous competition, the red Stanley Steamer rolled out onto the beach, building up power. A special 1,600-pound racing model, it was said by reporters to resemble an upside-down canoe, a rather apt description.* With a rear-mounted, two-cylinder engine, a boiler 30 inches in diameter and 18 inches deep, the "Rocket" rode on 34-inch wire wheels that looked more suited to a bicycle.

At noon on the 26th, the skies were clearing after an overcast morning, and the sand was wet and hard. Fred Marriott, the Rocket's driver, buckled the strap of his helmet and adjusted his goggles as he prepared for an unscheduled, timed, solo run. The 33-year-old Marriott, a dark-haired, good-looking man with a heavy moustache and a confident manner, worked as a mechanic for the Stanley Company in Boston. Now, positioned two miles behind the measured

*The wood and canvas body of the racer had come from the Robertson Canoe Factory of Auburndale, Massachusetts, so its design did owe its inspiration to the ancient Indian craft.

The specially built, 1,600-pound Stanley Steamer racer (shown restored on previous pages) may have resembled an upside-down canoe, but driven by Fred Marriott (inset on previous page and below, top) in 1906, the "Rocket" broke the world land-speed record before thrilled crowds at Ormond Beach, Florida (below, bottom), reaching a speed of 127.7 miles per hour.



BROWN BROTHERS



CULVER PICTURES



BROWN BROTHERS

The Stanley twins—Francis Edgar and Freelan Oscar (above)—moved from the manufacture of photographic plates to the new field of automobiles after F. E. Stanley developed his first steam-powered vehicle in 1897. Although they removed themselves from the business in 1917, the Stanley Motor Carriage Company remained in production until 1924.

mile, he waited for the steam pressure to build toward its maximum capacity of nine hundred pounds.

Steam car drivers usually approached the starting line and then let the throttle out full blast. So, as Marriott neared the starting line, the crowd got to its feet, cheering and shouting, "Here she comes!" Just then, Marriott pulled the throttle wide open, and the vehicle shot ahead with a frightening surge, its front wheels raised with the momentum. A comet-like tail of steam rose in its wake, and the noise swelled into a shriek that drowned out the sound of the surf.

Since the Rocket had no windshield, the driver felt the full force of the air on his face. "My eyes felt as though they were melting, even under my wind glasses," Marriott said later. "I gripped the tiller like the last thread of life. . . . My ears were stricken numb. . . . Toward the end it seemed as though the top of my head would be taken away."

It was over in a flash. The red blur streaked by the grandstand as straight as a bullet and, after a brief hush, a murmur arose as the crowd awaited the official timekeepers' report. The Rocket had no speedometer, but timers consulted their

stopwatches in head-shaking amazement and announced a new world record—127.7 miles an hour. Faster than two miles a minute!

The crowd roared and tossed hats up into the air. And on the beach, standing stiffly proper at six-feet tall, the neatly bearded Francis Edgar Stanley, inventor of the incredible machine, tipped his cap in acknowledgement. But it was the driver who received the greatest fanfare. "The feat has dimmed all the other records . . . and stamped Marriott as the greatest driver of an automobile in the world," an impressed reporter wrote. "This is not only an automobile record but is also the fastest official time ever recorded for a contrivance driven by a human being," another publication noted.

The press reports of the day were ecstatic. "The time is almost inconceivable, but those who saw the flying streak of a cigar-shaped machine fly past them would believe it even less," enthused one

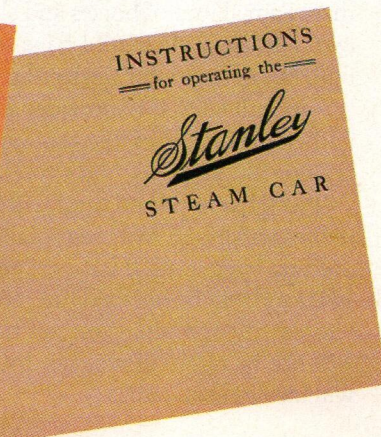
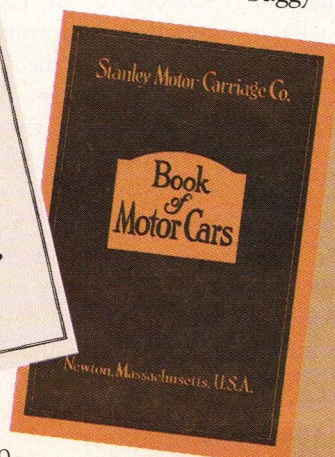
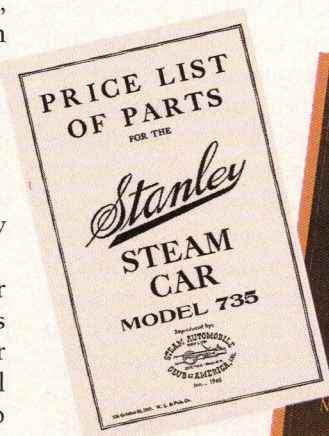
paper. Said another: "It was a horrible, indescribable sight . . . everyone expecting that each succeeding second would see the end of the daring chauffeur." The Louisville *Courier Journal* headlined, "Auto's Frightful Speed Made Spectators Shudder!" and one journalist wrote: "No whirl of any death plunge was like that stream of steam and the shriek of the air through the flying steel steed. It sounded like the strike of a death-dealing storm."

Marriott and F. E. Stanley saw more promise than fear in the Steamer's speed, however. Stanley felt that with a few minor design changes the vehicle could do much better. Amid all the accolades, he vowed to return to the annual event the following year to break the record just set.

Speed. Safety. Reliability. These were the watchwords of the image-conscious makers of the Stanley Steamer from the time the Stanley twins—F. E. and his brother Freelan Oscar, or F. O.—started their auto business. The brothers were conservative New Englanders originally involved in the making of photographic plates. They moved their Stanley Dry Plate Company from Lewiston, Maine, to Newton, Massachusetts, in 1888, and sold the business to Eastman Kodak in late 1903.

Their interest in automobiles was said to have begun in 1896, when the brothers attended a fair in Brockton, Massachusetts, where a Frenchman exhibiting a steam-powered automobile ran into mechanical difficulty and could not follow through on his boast that the machine could be driven all around the fairground track. F. E., after examining the faulty vehicle, immediately decided that he could do better.

In 1897, as he worked on building his first automobile, F. E.—exasperated by the undependability of the horse and buggy—sold his last horse. He wrote to





Steam cars required a rather uncomplicated mechanism; were quiet, simple, and inexpensive to operate; and could conquer hills with ease. Autos such as the Stanleys' 1905 Runabout (top, left) and 1910 Models 70 (bottom) and 72 (inset) shown here seemed destined to set the standard for the new automotive industry.

his wife, Augusta, in June of that year that "I am all out of horses and shall not own a horse again until I have seen the outcome of the motor carriage business."

A month later, F. E. provided Augusta with some details of his creation. "I am making all the plans," he wrote, "and it will weigh 350 pounds and will be four inches wider and five inches taller than our best buggy was. It will cost me about \$500 and will be finished the 1st of September or soon after you get home. It will not be afraid of a steam roller and will have no bad habits"

The Stanleys' first ride in the invention, completed as promised in September 1897, was a memorable event. F. O. recalled that they "went out our alley way on to Maple Street, and turned A horse hitched to a produce wagon . . . heard the car coming, turned his head around, took a look, gave a snort and jumped so quickly that he broke the Wiffle tree" The Stanleys paid the two-dollar damage bill for repairs to the runaway horse's harness.

Throughout their careers, the two men also paid numerous fines for speeding, as the press duly reported. Raymond Stanley, F. E.'s son, often told the story of how, on one occasion, "F. E. came over a hill and was stopped by a policeman for an on-the-spot five-dollar fine. 'I may as well give you ten,' Stanley said, 'because my son will be coming over that hill any minute.'"

By the time automobiles converged on Boston in the Fall of 1898 for the first national exhibition of motor vehicles, the

Stanley motorcar had undergone improvements that included a new body, engine, and tires. On November 9, the autos participating in the exhibition gathered at the Charles River Park velodrome track, where an eighty-foot-long wooden ramp had been built with a grade sufficient to test the cars' climbing abilities.

The Stanley twins, wearing identical derbies, their beards trimmed alike, drove triumphantly around the track, demonstrating their vehicle's trouble-free operation. The little Steamer then easily conquered

the hill, exhibiting a clear superiority over all the other autos tested.

"Following this spin around the track, people flocked around the car and besieged both Stanleys with questions," Raymond recalled. "Most wanted to know how soon they could get a

Stanley Steamer and how much it would cost." After collecting one hundred car orders, the twins decided to form a company and manufacture the vehicles.

In February 1899, the Stanleys were visited by John Brisben Walker, publisher of *The Cosmopolitan* magazine, who wanted to buy an interest in their company. Undeterred by their refusal, Walker offered in April to buy them out completely. Hoping to put an end to Walker's entreaties, the brothers set their asking price at \$250,000. Much to their surprise, Walker accepted their terms. With Amzi Lorenzo Barber as his partner, Walker renamed the enterprise the Locomobile Company of America.

As part of the agreement, the Stanleys agreed to help promote the steam cars. To that end, F. O. and his wife, Flora, set out on August 16, 1899 to drive a 4.5-horsepower, Stanley-designed Locomobile up an eight-mile dirt road to the top of Mount Washington, the highest peak in New England. The total trip time, including a stop to refill the water tank, was two hours and forty minutes—twice as fast as the best time for horses.

The Stanley invention gained additional attention when F. E., driving his own personal car, raced the Kingfield, Maine, express train in a 14-mile challenge over hilly terrain—and won by ten seconds. The feat was headlined in the *Boston Post*

continued on page 64

PHOTOS BY AL ZWIAZEK

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The map to the wolves
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BY ROGER S. PETERSON SINCE ITS CREATION IN 1992, THE ASSASSINATION RECORDS REVIEW BOARD HAS RELEASED DOCUMENTS THAT SHED A DISTURBING LIGHT ON THE 1963 SHOOTING OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY.

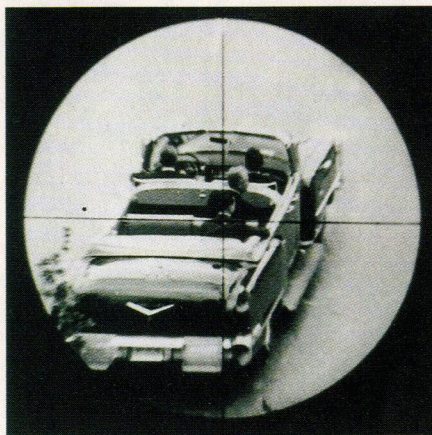
THE ASSASSINATION of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy on Friday, November 22, 1963 profoundly shocked the nation and dealt a severe blow to the relative prosperity and confidence of the era. Most who remember that afternoon can recall in detail where they were when they heard the news. Time seemed to stop. People became motionless, unable to function for hours. Church pews filled with dazed faithful seeking an answer for such madness.

Almost immediately, newly sworn-in President Lyndon Baines Johnson asked Chief Justice Earl Warren to head a commission of government officials to investigate the assassination. This board's findings, the so-called Warren Report, comprised 26 volumes and a summation. It was issued in September 1964, just as Johnson's presidential campaign was in full swing.

The commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald, an ex-Marine who had briefly defected to the Soviet Union, fired all the shots that killed Kennedy and wounded Texas Governor John Connally, as they rode in an open car through Dallas. Oswald, the report said, had perched in the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository and fired from behind the victims as their limousine passed below, heading toward a freeway exit. The members of the Warren Commission, finding no evidence of conspiracy, determined that Oswald had acted alone.

From the beginning, numerous studies questioned the commission's thoroughness and objectivity, until public pressure on the matter led to several congressional investigations, most notably

by the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA). Its 1979 report concluded that Kennedy was probably shot by Oswald, but in a conspiracy with



ARCHIVE PHOTOS

unknown people, and that additional shots were likely fired from an area—"the grassy knoll"—in front of the limousine. HSCA chief counsel Robert Blakey went so far as to assert that organized crime, the Mafia, was involved.

Still baffled by contradictions in the various investigations, independent researchers conducted their own inquiries. Together, their findings have created a surreal mosaic of leads and deadends. Occasionally, individual tiles of the mosaic have touched, making an interesting pattern. Now, recent revelations have brought more tiles into contact, and the image emerging does not match government claims. New findings are challenging the basic conclusions of the Warren Report, and researchers insist the full picture will be clear only when all government agencies release still-classified files.

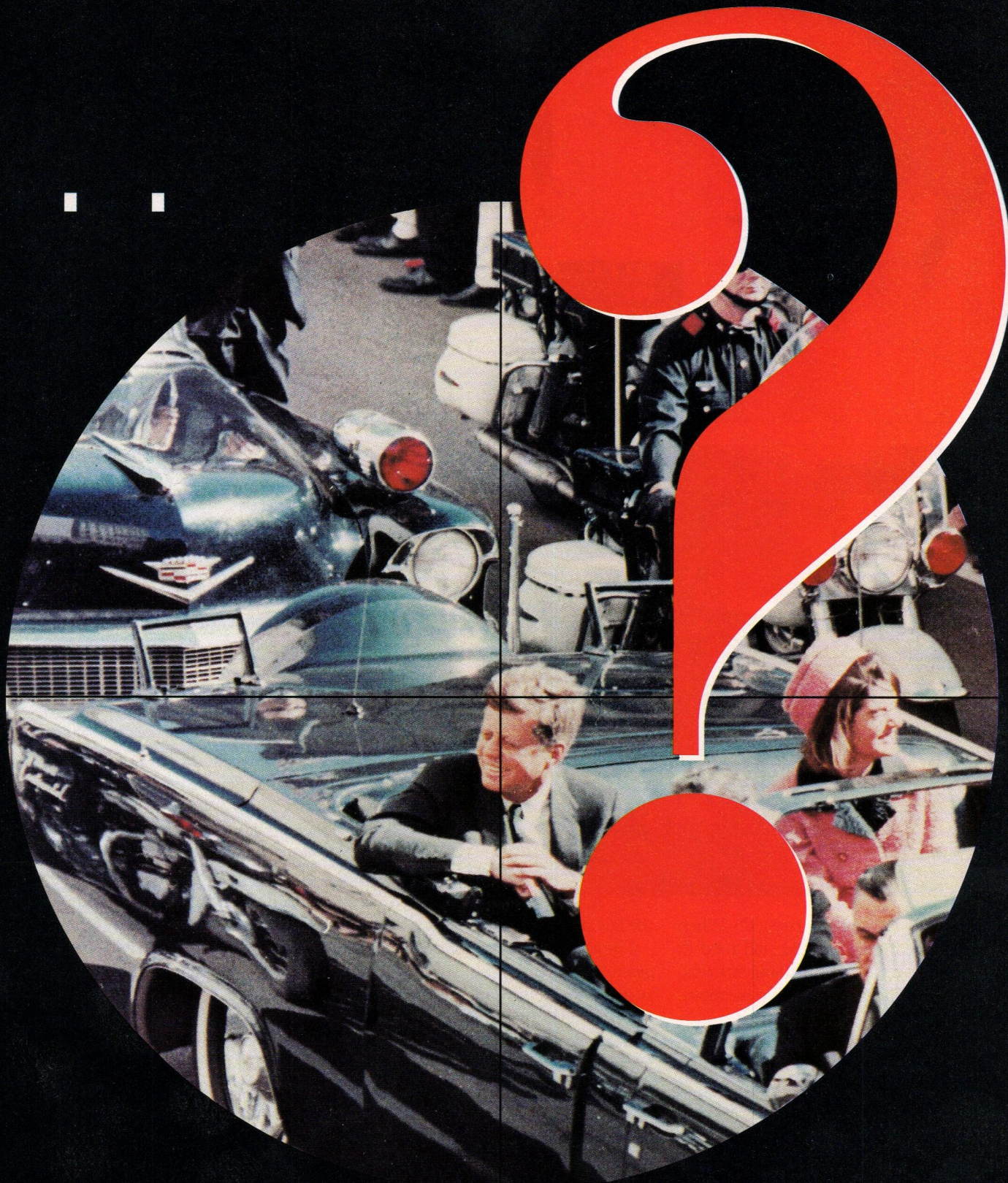
The JFK Records Act of 1992 created

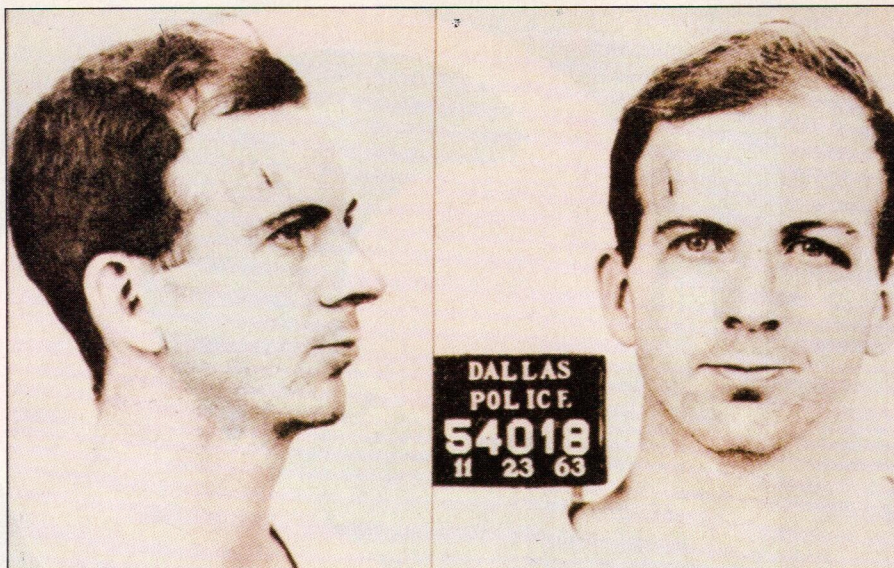
the Assassination Records Review Board (ARRB) with a mandate to identify and review federal, state, and private files on the shooting for release to the National Archives and Records Administration. Researchers have formed the Coalition on Political Assassinations (COPA), based in Washington, to undertake a peer-review of their work and to share data. Composed of physicians, lawyers, engineers, scientists, retired military officers, and historians, COPA researchers have provided many leads for ARRB investigators.

Forensic pathology is a medical specialty that investigates violent and suspicious deaths in order to isolate criminal evidence. In gunshot cases, the pathologist examines the victim's body to determine the location of entry and exit wounds. But not all pathologists are trained in forensic science, which includes the probing of wounds, the examination of tissue, and extensive photographing and x-raying of the body as the autopsy is in progress.

When President Kennedy was declared dead at Dallas's Parkland Hospital soon after the shooting, local authorities insisted that Texas law required an immediate autopsy before the body could be moved.

Since the 1964 release of the Warren Report—which concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald, positioned behind his target (as indicated by the reenactment of the event shown above, left) was the lone assassin of President John F. Kennedy—a considerable body of evidence has been revealed, which indicates that the president was shot from the front and that Oswald could not have acted alone.





ARCHIVE PHOTOS



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Recently released documents raise numerous questions about Oswald (shown above, left, in "mug shot" that followed his arrest on November 23, 1963, the day after the assassination), and about Clay Shaw (above, right), a prominent businessman tried by New Orleans' District Attorney Jim Garrison (left) on conspiracy charges in connection with the assassination.

Parkland Hospital medical team who had tried to save the president hours earlier in Dallas. They too had observed a large defect in the *back* of the skull.

Dallas neurosurgeon Dr. Clark Kemp, for example, told the Warren Commission that in closely examining Kennedy's skull, he had found "a large wound beginning in the right occiput extending into the parietal region . . . much of the skull appeared gone . . ." Elsewhere, Kemp claimed cerebral and cerebellar tissue was extruding from the wound; the cerebellum, located in the lower, back portion of the brain, has a distinctive pink color.

Kemp's colleague, Dr. Robert McClelland, stated that from his position at the head of the operating table he "could very closely examine the head wound, and I noted that the right posterior portion of the skull had been extremely blasted." The force of the shot, McClelland continued, "sprung open the bones," which permitted him to observe that "probably a third or so, at least, of the brain tissue, posterior cerebral tissue and some of the cerebellar tissue had been blasted out."

Dallas's Dr. Ronald Jones described what "appeared to be an exit wound in

Secret Service agents resisted. When words failed, the Parkland staff tried to grab the casket away from the agents, who met the challenge with drawn weapons. In the end, Texas law was ignored.

Late that same evening, after the president's body was flown back to Washington, D.C., a 26-member team at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland began an autopsy. Since neither of the two chief pathologists—Dr. James Humes and Dr. J. Thornton Boswell—was forensically trained nor experienced with gunshot wounds, the procedure was delayed until the arrival of a forensic pathologist, Dr. Pierre Finck. The assignment of pathologists without forensic experience was a curious omission, given that the corpse still leaking body fluids on the cold aluminum tray was

the late president of the United States.

The actual transcripts of the testimony given by Bethesda Naval Hospital autopsy personnel to the HSCA were released in 1993 under the JFK Records Act. They indicate that the Bethesda autopsy witnesses, in closed session, told the House committee that Kennedy had a massive wound in the *back* of the skull behind his right ear. Some who testified submitted diagrams to support their claims.

The summary of the witnesses' testimony issued by the HSCA in 1979, however, indicated that all 26 Bethesda observers cited a wound on the right side of Kennedy's head toward the *front*—not the back—of the skull. This strangely inaccurate account of the autopsy witnesses' testimony is particularly disturbing when compared to the comments of the

the posterior of the skull" and told researcher David Lifton "If you brought [President Kennedy] in here today, I'd still say he was shot from the front."

San Francisco physician Dr. Gary Aguilar reviewed all medical testimony from the Dallas and Bethesda witnesses and found striking agreement among 42 medical observers in both hospitals that the exit wound was in the back of Kennedy's skull. Aguilar states that the Bethesda witnesses provided "unambiguous verbal descriptions, as well as diagrams, of JFK's right-rear skull defect." Among those testifying were two Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents and the mortician who prepared the skull for an open-casket viewing by filling it with plaster.

This point is important because an exit wound in the front of the skull supports the Warren Report's assertion that Oswald, shooting from behind, acted alone. However, evidence of a posterior exit wound implies a shot from the front, suggesting either that Oswald did not act alone, if at all, or that two lone assassins coincidentally chose the same time and place to own a chapter in history.

Curiously, none of the x-rays or photographs from the autopsy show the wound seen by the 42 medical observers. Warren Commission defenders see this as proof that the Dallas and Bethesda observers were mistaken about the location of the large head wound. Aguilar responds by suggesting that, if error is ran-

dom, it is unlikely that 42 people can all make the same error, especially when all were medically trained observers and had physical access to the body.

Aguilar found the answer to what is a basic question of any gunshot homicide—from which direction did the bullets enter the victim and where did they exit?—by surveying the comments and testimony given over the years by the Bethesda pathologists and their photographers regarding the x-rays and photographs taken during the autopsy.

Pathologists Humes, Boswell, and Finck each told the HSCA that they had not seen all the photographs that they had ordered taken. Specifically, Finck cited photos of the skull (internal and external aspects) and the chest cavity. The three have also testified they were not permitted to probe the wound in Kennedy's back, nor were they allowed to see his clothing—both essential elements in forensic analysis. In 1969, Dr. Finck testified that an unidentified Army general present at the autopsy ordered these omissions.

Over the years, statements by Humes and Boswell have contained many seemingly parenthetical references to the missing photographs and many careful references to the completeness of the autopsy. Why then, one may wonder, have they not been more aggressive in asking to see all the photographs they had taken, many of which presumably would end the discussion about exit wounds?

That question is answered by a recent-

ly released affidavit dated November 10, 1966, in which former Justice Department official Carl Belcher confirms that he had delivered to Bethesda a document entitled "Report of Inspection by Naval Medical Staff on November 1, 1966 at National Archives of x-rays and photographs of autopsy of President John F. Kennedy" that was read and signed by Humes, Boswell, and two other Naval officers. The x-rays and photographs described and listed in the inventory, they affirmed, included all those "taken by us during the autopsy, and we have no reason to believe that any other photographs or x-rays were made during the autopsy."

The statement they signed in 1966 directly contradicts what they have consistently sworn to ever since. Both autopsy photographers have also testified to the same missing photos. Why such contradiction? Dr. Aguilar, who has interviewed both Humes and Boswell, believes a basic human emotion—fear—has prevailed for decades. "These guys..." Aguilar told this author, "must have knowingly

Within days of the president's murder, President Johnson appointed a commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren to investigate. The members (shown below from left) included Representatives Gerald Ford and Hale Boggs, Senator Richard Russell, Justice Warren, Senator John S. Cooper, John J. McCloy, Allen Dulles, and J. Lee Rankin.



signed a false declaration." Aguilar also notes that the two men have avoided public questions by fellow physicians as recently as 1992. Considering all the contradictions surrounding this homicide and given that the autopsy witnesses were warned never to discuss the autopsy, it is entirely understandable if Humes and Boswell wished they had never been on duty that evening.

Nashville radiologist Dr. Randy Robertson asserts that it is clear from the x-rays and the placement of five specific skull pieces that Kennedy was hit twice, almost simultaneously—once from behind and then from the front. Speaking at the October 1995 COPA conference, Robertson went so far as to suggest that Bethesda's Dr. Finck and Dr. Humes lied in their Warren Commission testimony.

As tiles in Oswald's surreal mosaic are filled in, the image, instead of becoming clearer, gets more confusing. Oswald served in the Marines as a radar operator at the top secret U.S. reconnaissance base in Atsugi, Japan. After receiving a hardship discharge, he defected to the Soviet Union in the fall of 1959.

Oswald relinquished his passport and renounced his U.S. citizenship at the American embassy in Moscow, threatening to provide the Soviets with important radar information. Such a threat, by someone who had a top secret clearance and had worked with U-2 spy planes that flew over the Soviet Union, represented a serious breach of security. Yet, when Oswald asked to return to the U.S. in 1962, his past behavior did not stop the State Department from routinely granting permission and even paying for his transportation home.

New releases reveal that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) put Oswald on their "watch list" on November 9, 1959, nine days after his defection. Oswald then became a member of an exclusive club: three hundred Americans whose mail was illegally intercepted by the CIA. Oddly, however, the Agency did not open a "201" file (a personality profile) on Oswald until December 9, 1960—13 months after his treasonous threat.

Dr. John Newman, a University of

Maryland historian with twenty years in army intelligence, examined the continuing mystery in his 1995 book *Oswald and the CIA*. A no-nonsense researcher, Newman believes that the belated opening of a 201 file on Oswald was intentional and suggests Oswald's presence in the Soviet Union may have been part of some U.S. operation.

Apparently the FBI first learned of the

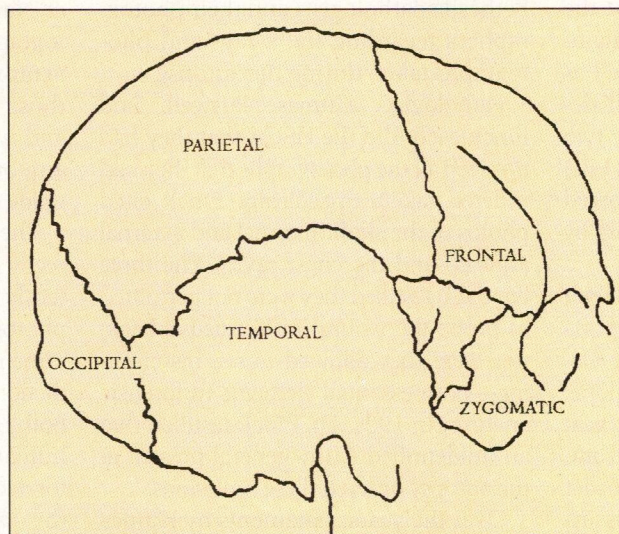


DIAGRAM COURTESY OF VIKING PENGUIN INC.

Medical personnel at both Parkland Hospital in Dallas and Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, who examined President Kennedy's body after the shooting, testified to massive destruction at the rear or occipital region of his skull, which extended forward to the parietal region. This kind of damage to the skull indicates an entry wound in the front of the president's head that could not have been inflicted by a gunman shooting from behind.

CIA's mail-opening project in a March 1961 briefing by the Agency's James Angleton. A March 10 memo explaining the "sensitive project" and the CIA's New York "laboratory" fueled FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's conflict with the CIA. At the bottom of the document, he scrawled "another inroad!"

Newman, who asserts that the CIA became operationally interested in Oswald in 1959, rummaged through countless boxes of Agency files. He discovered CIA routing slips indicating that the Oswald was the subject of active surveillance by eight separate departments. Newman suggests that Oswald—wittingly or unwittingly—eventually became operational within the CIA in some capacity.

Nearly thirty U.S. intelligence agencies, plus the State Department and the Post

Office, watched Oswald from 1959 until his death four years later, according to Newman. He estimates that four thousand pages of released documents from the FBI alone indicate interest in Oswald by Bureau offices in Dallas, New Orleans, Newark, New York City, and Washington.

Documents dated 1960 and '63 outline Hoover's suspicion that someone was impersonating Oswald. In a memo dated

June 3, 1960 and released in 1992, Director Hoover informed the State Department that "there is a possibility that an imposter is using Oswald's birth certificate . . ." When the ARRB voted in July 1995 to release FBI cables from 1960 indicating that the agency wondered if Oswald were in Switzerland, not the Soviet Union, the FBI appealed to President Bill Clinton to override the ARRB decision on the grounds that they involved the Swiss government. Swiss authorities, however, agreed to the release, provided the name of a Swiss citizen was deleted. The cables were finally made public in December 1995.

Hoover was not the only one to posit the possibility of an Oswald imposter. Several researchers who have studied various Oswald photographs—including one of the body in the coffin exhumed from Oswald's grave—and his New Orleans and New York City school records suggest that there were two Oswalds.

The Warren Report described Oswald as a mercurial loner, but new evidence indicates that, for a "loner," Oswald had some interesting liaisons (see diagram, page 54). According to Newman, the evidence now is overwhelming that Oswald was in contact with CIA "assets" within the New Orleans anti-Castro community.

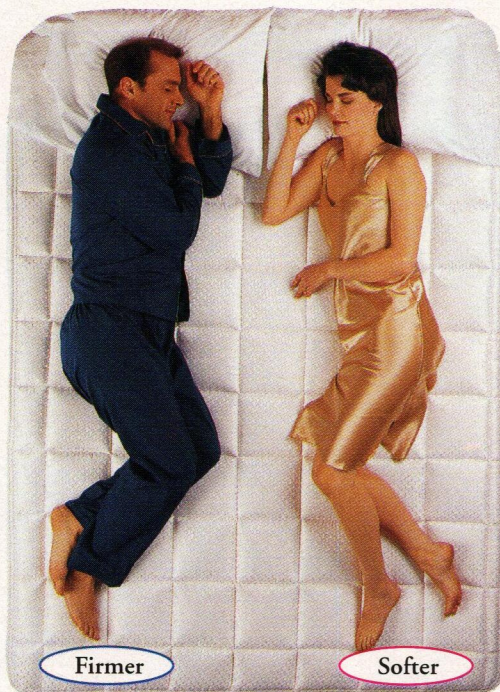
Following the assassination, New Orleans' District Attorney Jim Garrison began an investigation into Oswald's past in that city, which led to the March 1967 arrest of Clay Shaw, a prominent businessman, on charges of conspiracy in the murder of President Kennedy. Garrison's investigation found Shaw linked to a subterranean world of anti-Castro operations involving a bizarre pilot and paramilitarist named David Ferrie and a rabid John Birch Society member and ex-FBI agent named Guy Banister.

continued on page 54

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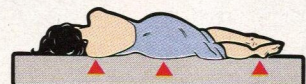
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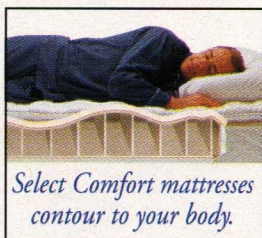
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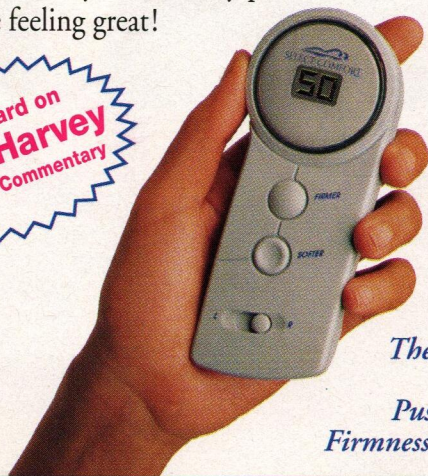
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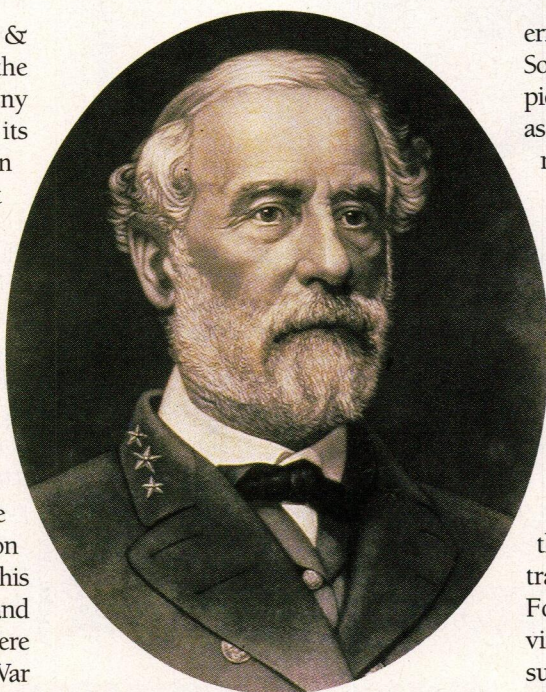


UNION MADE

BY HAROLD HOLZER AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, SOUTHERNERS HAD TO RELY ON NORTHERN PRINTMAKERS FOR PORTRAITS OF GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, ONE OF THE CONFEDERACY'S GREATEST HEROES.

The print publishing firm of Jones & Clark operated about as far from the Confederate States of America as any picture-maker in the Union. With its headquarters at 80 Nassau Street in New York City, the only thing about the company that might be called "Southern" was the fact that it was located a few blocks south of its local competition, Currier & Ives.

Yet from this quintessentially Yankee publisher came, in early 1861, a handsome lithograph of an avowed enemy of the Union—a portrait by artist C. G. Crehen entitled, *Gen. Lee C.S.A.* (see cover illustration). To be sure, it was not Robert E. Lee as he soon became familiar to most Americans. This Lee wore no beard, only a moustache, and his hair was black rather than white. Here was the younger Lee of the Mexican War 15 years before, not of the Civil War. He



even wore a federal uniform, complete with epaulets. With no new photographic models of Lee yet available in New York, this was apparently the most current portrait that Jones & Clark could manage.

It comes as little surprise that the display print was not a commercial success—at least judging by its extreme rarity today. After all, the picture was, upon publication, already out of date. And what was worse, it portrayed a man many Northerners considered a traitor.

What is astonishing is not that this was the very first separate-sheet print portrait issued of Robert E. Lee during the Civil War, but that it was also the very last. For as long as the war raged, no other North-

ern printmaker dared portray Lee. But no Southern printmaker came forward to depict the Confederate leader, either. As long as the guns of the Civil War still blazed, not a single picture publisher in the South ever issued a display print of the man who arguably became the greatest Confederate hero of all.

To understand the confluence of circumstances that doomed Lee's image in the wartime South requires first an understanding of nineteenth-century Americans' reverence for such pictures. Today, few Americans would consider adorning their private homes with display portraits of political or military celebrities. For one thing, modern audiences are virtually bombarded with pictures of such people—in newspapers and magazines, in films and on television, and now on computers. As for our historic worship of politicians and generals, it long ago faded into memory.

But Robert E. Lee became famous in an era in which audiences regarded pictures as precious and winning generals as idols. Ordinarily, the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia would quickly have inspired adulatory engravings and lithographs. That Lee did not requires a complex explanation.

When the Confederacy was born, Southern printmakers still thrived in Richmond, New Orleans, and Atlanta. But in the heady days of Southern independence, they turned their attention to depictions of President Jefferson Davis

Painted by Everett B. D. Julio in 1869, this enormous rendition of Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson (left) as the "Heroes of Chancellorsville," encased in an elaborate walnut frame topped by the Lee family crest, enjoyed no success until it was adapted in print form by a New York firm and became known as The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson. Immediately after the beloved General Lee's death in 1870, the Lee Memorial Association was formed to raise money to erect a suitable tribute. Part of the Southern fundraising effort involved the sale of a print of General Lee (above), which was engraved in Philadelphia and published in New York City.

and such early Confederate military heroes as P. G. T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston. Robert E. Lee was then stationed far from the action, out of the public spotlight and seemingly destined for oblivion.

By the time Lee emerged as the most successful and inspiring general in gray—by turning back the huge Union invasion

force under the command of George McClellan, which landed on the Virginia peninsula in mid-1862—the Confederate printmaking industry had begun to decline. The fortunes of the industry and the general simply failed to converge.

On December 13, 1862, the situation was addressed—or at least acknowledged—in the Confederacy's only pictorial

journal, the *Southern Illustrated News*. "Numerous enquiries having been made of us in regard to the publication of the picture of this distinguished officer," the paper announced, "we take pleasure in informing the readers of the 'News' that our artists are now engaged on a magnificent full-page picture of the great Captain, which will be published in a short time." The picture, promised the *News*, would be "executed with the greatest care, and we feel warranted in saying, will be one of the most artistic pieces of work of its kind ever gotten up in the South."

To say that the result failed to live up to its advance billing would be an understatement. The woodcut that appeared in the newspaper on January 17, 1863—the first known print portrait of Lee to appear anywhere since Jones & Clark's ill-advised tribute from New York two years earlier—was little more than a copy of that picture, or perhaps of the same circa 1850 Mathew Brady photograph that had



GENERAL RESEARCH DIVISION, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

The image (left) published by the *Southern Illustrated News* in 1863—one of only two of Lee produced in the South during the war—was erroneously labeled "Robert Edmund Lee," when in reality the "E" stood for Edward. After the war, Major E. Knapp's of New York imagined the surrender ceremony at Appomattox in April 1865 (below, right) as a tribute to General U. S. Grant; however, in portraying Lee as dignified in defeat, they also elevated his reputation. Lee's conciliatory farewell message to his Southern troops (below, left) was published in print form by several printmakers, all Northern.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



THE LINCOLN MUSEUM, FORT WAYNE IN, #3696



THE GRAVE OF STONEWALL JACKSON.

inspired it. Here was the Mexican War-era Lee once again, young and clean-shaven. News printmaker William Campbell had not even bothered to engrave it in reverse on his woodblock; he copied it directly, and as a result, the portrait printed as a mirror-image in the newspaper. This woodcut of Robert Edward Lee was erroneously entitled, *Robert Edmund Lee*.

"As an artistic piece of work," the *News* nonetheless boasted, "the engraving . . . will compare favorably with any similar work ever gotten out in the North." But to its credit, the newspaper also conceded that its effort was already inaccurate. "The picture," they explained, "is from a photograph taken some ten years ago—the only one, we believe, extant of the distinguished chieftain. We are told that the General now looks somewhat different . . . his face being covered with a heavy, snowy beard, while the anxieties and cares incident to the discharge of his arduous duties have slightly furrowed his brow and tinged his locks with gray."

Looking to the future, the *Southern Illustrated News* promised that "as soon as possible, we will present our readers with a picture of The General as he now ap-

pears." But not until October 17, 1863, did the journal fulfill its pledge by publishing at last a modest woodcut based on a current photograph for which Lee had posed in Richmond. This time, the paper felt emboldened to boast that its portrait offered "as good an idea of the appearance of 'the great captain of the age' as can be conveyed on wood." But if Southern audiences were at last becoming more familiar with Lee, the Southern press evidently was not. The new portrait was still labeled *Robert Edmund Lee*.

More importantly, neither of the engravings by the *Southern Illustrated News*—even if they had been well-crafted—qualified as separate-sheet prints suitable for display in the family home. Rather, these were cheap newsprint woodcuts on thin, brittle paper, destined to be thrown away by all but the most passionately acquisitive of subscribers as soon as the next issue of the journal appeared. That is why so few examples have survived.

Separate-sheet prints like that issued in 1861 by Jones & Clark were different; they were designed to evoke a permanent

During the war, New York's Currier & Ives avoided Lee as a subject for its prints. When the conflict ended, however, they immortalized the general visiting the grave of his slain lieutenant—Stonewall Jackson—another previously forbidden subject.

emotional response and earn an honored place in the family home. It was this type of image that Lee failed to inspire.

It was not the general's fault that he gained fame just as the Confederate print industry became moribund. Shortages in supplies like ink and paper plagued even the *Southern Illustrated News*, eventually forcing it to suspend publication. And there were shortages in manpower as well. Nearly all able-bodied Southern men were ushered into the armed forces. Those left behind who might charitably be called artists were assigned to engrave and lithograph postage stamps and paper currency for the new nation, not to craft pictures to hang above the family hearth.

In an attempt to remedy its own situation, the fast-fading *Southern Illustrated News* took to advertising for artistic help on its very own pages. "Engravers Wanted," announced one such notice. "We



GEN. ROBT. E. LEE.

One of the evocations of Lee as a great rider astride his horse, Traveller, came from Charles Shober of Chicago. Like most equestrian prints of Lee, this portrait suggested that the general was able to inspire his troops simply by appearing before them

offer the highest salaries ever paid in this country." But there were no takers. The Confederate printmaking industry died aborning, leaving Southern audiences deprived of icons of their heroes—but presumably too preoccupied with mere survival to much notice. Lost in the turmoil of war was the bitter irony that as long as the Confederacy lived, South-

erners could not boast a single separate-sheet Lee portrait of their own.

All that changed on April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, Virginia. Garbed in his spectacular full-dress uniform, his emotions held in check, no commander ever "laid down his sword . . . with greater dignity," marveled an aide. Northern printmakers—who had thrived as seldom before while the war raged—now rushed out scenes of the surrender ceremony, realistic and imaginary alike. Designed primarily to celebrate the triumph of General Grant, they inevitably celebrated Lee's stoic bravery as well. Whether shown

seated inside the house where his conference with Grant occurred or posed in some fantastic outdoor setting surrendering his entire army, Lee suddenly emerged out of the mists of obscurity into full flower as a tragic hero in popular prints.

Liberated from the patriotic constraints that had prevented their portraying Lee while the war continued, printmakers from New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia now enthusiastically entered the postwar Southern marketplace with wholly sympathetic images of the man they had long been compelled to ignore. In these once-hostile cities, the image of Lee as we know it today—beloved in the South, respected in the North—was invented and mass-produced.

From Philadelphia, for example, came a typical effort: a richly decorated printing of Lee's farewell message to his troops, featuring a pair of clasped hands to symbolize sectional reunification, along with a beatific portrait of Lee topped by the laurel wreath of a hero.

Even Currier & Ives, the taste-making industry leader, paid tribute with a handsome portrait adorned with a facsimile signature. The firm would crown its Lee efforts with depictions of his deathbed, the decoration of his casket, and his final visit to the grave of fellow Confederate General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Thanks entirely to Northern commercial and artistic acumen, Southern homes were now finally provided the pictures so long denied them. Here was Lee in camp, Lee with his commanders, or Lee on horseback inspiring his troops to triumph.

In the surest sign yet that Northern printmakers were now competing hotly to portray this onetime enemy, New York lithographer Thomas Kelly stole the design of one of the most famous Union prints of the day, *The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet*. He affixed new heads onto the bodies of Abraham Lincoln and his ministers and shuffled the placement of the figures, transforming the scene into a group portrait of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet, joined by Robert E. Lee. Picture-hungry Southern print-buyers were surely unaware that the Confederate leaders superimposed in Kelly's print were, in truth, gathered inside Lincoln's White House, pointing to the Emancipation Proclamation, the very document

that had freed their slaves!

Lee died just five years after Appomattox, but he lived long enough to take personal notice of his image's ascendancy. Riding out into the Virginia mountains for a postwar vacation, the old hero finally came face to face with his long-overdue image transfiguration. Forced during a rainstorm to take shelter in a stranger's cabin, he came to be seated beneath a print portrait of himself.

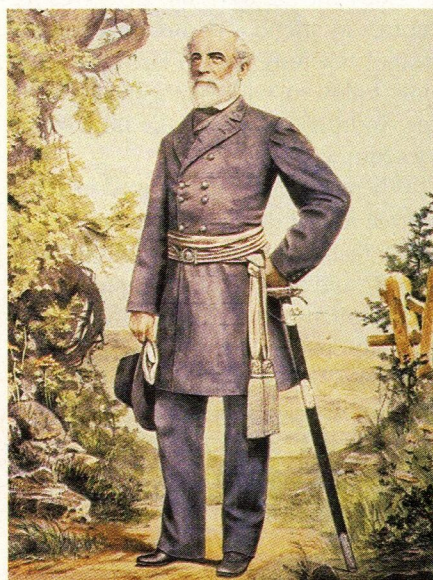
Lee's death in 1870 only intensified Southern determination to display his likenesses—and Northern determination to meet the ensuing demand with new pictures. Just one day after he died, Lee's Lexington admirers formed the Lee Memorial Association to raise money to

print. Engraved in Philadelphia and published in New York, the caption to this entirely Northern creation made clear that proceeds from its sale would be earmarked "for the erection of a Monument at the tomb of Genl. R. E. Lee." As an orator would later affirm at the unveiling of that monument: "A considerable sum was realized from a steel engraving of Gen. Lee . . . sold under the authority of the Association."

Not to be outdone, Lee's admirers in Richmond planned to honor him with a heroic equestrian statue. Faced with the same fundraising problems as the Lexington group, they too commissioned a print to raise money. This time, the Baltimore firm of A. Hoen & Co. was hired to adapt

Michael Miley's postwar photograph of Lee astride his famous horse, Traveller. Again the picture was published in a one-time Union city—albeit one of the more sympathetic to the Confederacy—and once again, in the words of a contemporary, "a grateful people" gave "of their poverty gladly that . . . future generations may see the counterfeit presentment of this . . . bright consummate flower of our civilization." The Lee monument financed by these Northern-made Lee prints and sculpted by Marius Jean Antonin Mercie was unveiled in 1890.

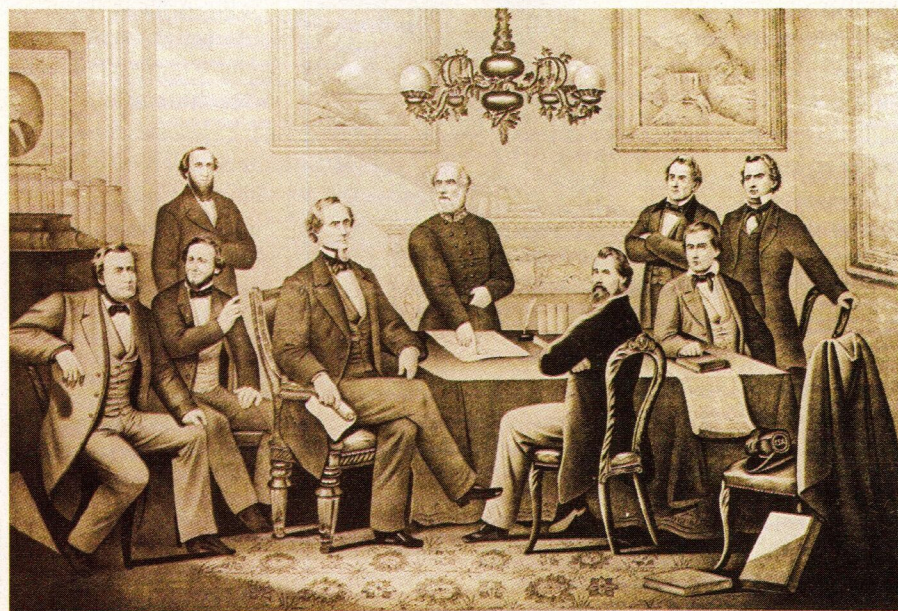
Well into the 1890s, Lee prints continued to be offered, right along with pictures of Union heroes, in the catalogs of Northern printmakers. Southern



THE LINCOLN MUSEUM, FORT WAYNE IN. #151



The image of Lee in a pose quite familiar to-day—standing in his dress uniform, with hat in hand—is a hand-colored lithograph published in 1882 by A. S. Seer in New York (above, left). One print from that city not welcome in the South was A. H. Ritchie's engraving of Abraham Lincoln's first reading of the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation (above, right). That did not stop a rival New York printmaker from stealing the design and creating a supposedly realistic depiction of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet, being visited by Lee (bottom).



JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET.

build a tribute to the hero atop his grave site. But the South was impoverished by war, and there were no wealthy benefactors to endow such a project.

The Association, therefore, took in small amounts through the sale of a token everyone could afford: a popular

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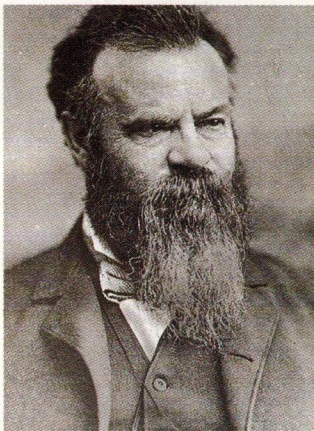
MAPPING THE COLORADO

BY CAROLYN J. HURSCH IN 1869, JOHN WESLEY POWELL DEFIED THE MYTH OF THE COLORADO RIVER'S INVINCIBILITY & LED THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO NAVIGATE THROUGH THE GRAND CANYON.

"ON MY RETURN from the first exploration of the canyons of Colorado," wrote John Wesley Powell in a memoir published in 1895, "I found that our journey had been the theme of much newspaper writing. A story of disaster had been circulated, with many particulars of hardship and tragedy, so that it was currently believed throughout the United States that all the members of the party were lost save one. A good friend of mine had gathered a great number of obituary notices, and it was interesting and rather flattering to me to discover the high esteem in which I had been held . . ."

The notion that Powell and his party had met an unfortunate end during their 1869 expedition did not strain the imagination. They had, after all, undertaken what is now considered one of America's great adventure stories. The mighty Colorado River's course had, until then, been a mystery even to Native Americans of the region, a blank space on the best maps available. Powell's expeditions in 1869 and 1871-72 revealed the Colorado's secrets, as well as some of the most remarkable terrain—including the magnificent Grand Canyon—to be found anywhere on earth.

Wes, as he was known, was born on March 24, 1834, at Mount Morris, New York, to Joseph and Mary Dean Powell. The family traveled west, living first in Ohio and then in Wisconsin. Joseph, a tailor and lay preacher, intended that his son follow in the footsteps of his namesake, John Wesley, the Methodist minister. But while his father was



BETTMANN ARCHIVE

off saving souls on the frontier, Wes's imagination was fired more by a neighbor versed in geology and natural history than by Joseph's religious tracts.

At age 16, Wes rejected his father's offer to educate him in the ministry, choosing instead to attend a school in Janesville, Wisconsin, twenty miles from home. He supplemented the school's disappointing curriculum with books on geometry, history, and geology, which he borrowed from a friend in the town.

When Reverend Powell sold the Wisconsin farm in 1851 and purchased 320 acres in Illinois, he ordered his son home to help break the new sod. Wes reluctantly complied, but a year later, he packed his clothes and books and left for Jefferson, Wisconsin, to teach in a one-room schoolhouse. In addition to instructing his students in the basic subjects, Wes led them on field trips to col-

lect specimens and explain to them the geology of the area.

Finally, at the age of 21, Powell was able to pursue his education by enrolling in Illinois College at Jacksonville. Before beginning his studies, however, he ventured out on his first exploring expedition. In a small skiff, he rowed up the Mississippi River to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he sold the boat and set off on foot through the forests of Wisconsin and Michigan. His travels ended in Detroit, where he stopped to visit his mother's brother, Joseph Dean, and his family. Introduced to his 18-year-old cousin Emma, Wes soon found himself in love.

In 1858, Reverend Powell, accepting that his son was adamant in his refusal to study for the ministry, gave Wes the money to attend Oberlin College for a year. A teaching post in Hennepin, Illinois, followed, with Wes using the summer months to explore the Illinois and Des Moines rivers.

When the Civil War erupted in 1861, Powell joined the Union forces as a private, rising to lieutenant within one month, and then became a captain when he recruited a company of artillery. He married Emma in March 1862, and a few days later moved with his company into some of the bloodiest fighting of the war. At the Battle of Shiloh in Tennessee, a bullet ripped through Wes's right arm, which had to be amputated below the elbow.

But the Army needed every man, and Powell was soon reactivated, with special orders from General Ulysses S. Grant for Emma to accompany him. She was never far away when the newly promoted Major Powell returned to duty. On January 4, 1865, with a Union victory imminent and the pain from his wound constant, Wes requested and received an immediate disability discharge.

Taking a job at Illinois Wesleyan University, a Methodist college in Bloomington, Powell lectured on botany, cellular

John Wesley Powell (left), the one-armed explorer who led the first-ever expedition down the Colorado River, through the magnificent Grand Canyon, passed with his party through the 2,500-foot-high Marble Canyon (right) on August 9, 1869. "I have walked for more than a mile on marble pavement," he noted in his diary, "... [when] the sun shines on this pavement ... it gleams an iridescent beauty."



histology, physiology, zoology, geology, and mineralogy. A year later, he became professor of geology at the Illinois State Normal University in Normal.

In 1866, while secretary of the Illinois Natural History Society, Powell approached the state legislature for money to house and care for the society's collections. His skills as an orator and his aptitude as a negotiator gained for the Society \$2,500 earmarked for the salary of a commissioner and curator and for buying needed books and equipment. In appreciation for his efforts, the Society named Powell curator.

Turning his oratorical skills onto the Society itself, Powell requested \$500 to fund the exploration of the mountain-park country of Colorado. The journey, he told the Society, would provide its museum with fabulous natural specimens that would add significantly to its collections. The Society voted unanimously to underwrite Powell's trip with half of the money that the legislature had allocated for books and equipment.

With this backing, Powell traveled to Washington, D.C., where he asked the assistance of his friend and old commanding officer, General Grant, then

temporarily acting as secretary of war. Grant signed an order allowing Powell's expedition to purchase rations at cost. Heading next to the Smithsonian Institution, Powell convinced its secretary, Dr. Joseph Henry, to provide all the scientific instruments needed for the undertaking in exchange for topographic measurements of the western mountain region.

Emboldened by his powers of persuasion, Powell visited several railroad companies, suggesting that they trade good publicity for free transportation for the men in his party. By the time he got back to Normal, Wes had passes worth \$1,700, together with the understanding that his equipment and specimens would be shipped free of charge. He also had convinced the Illinois In-

dustrial University (later the University of Illinois) and the Chicago Academy of Sciences to contribute money for scientific instruments in return for specimens collected along the way.

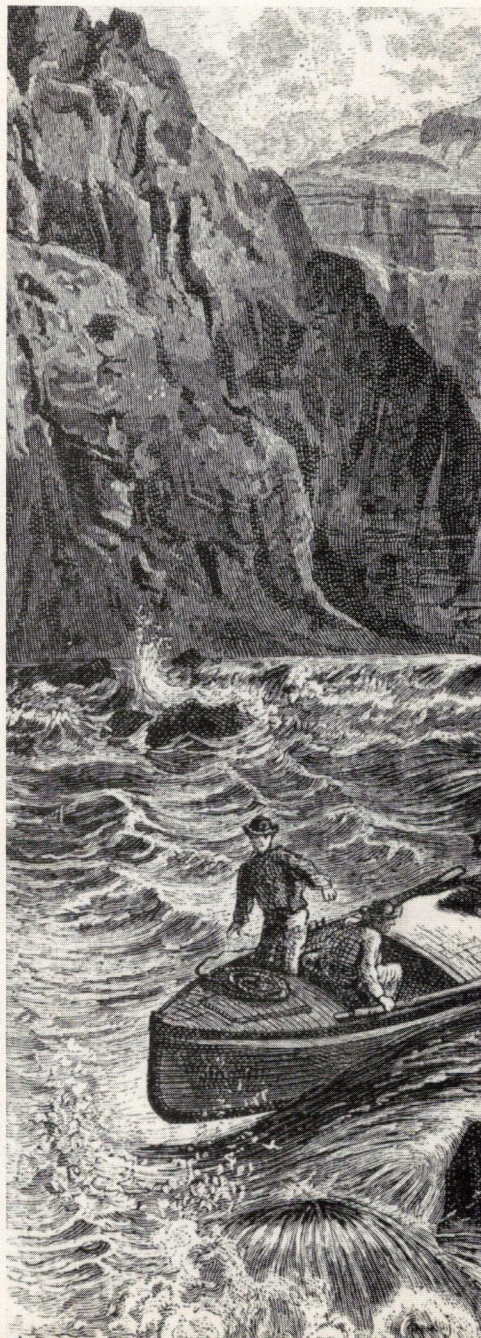
Accompanied by a band of amateur scientists, Powell finally set out in June 1867 to explore the mountains of Colorado. His Army career may have cost him an arm, but it also taught him how to handle men. Despite standing only five and a half feet tall, he possessed a presence that enabled him to lead men over the forbidding terrain. Emma, who again accompanied her husband, kept notes of the expedition, helped collect and catalog specimens, and became an expert on alpine plants.

Mrs. Powell and the rest of the party of

Not long after starting their 1869 adventure, the members of the Powell expedition suffered the loss of one of their boats, the No Name, at what the men dubbed "Disaster Falls" in the Canyon of Lodore on the Green River (below). Although they portaged—sometimes with great difficulty—around the worst of the white water, the members of the party found running the rapids exhilarating (right).



COLORADO HISTORICAL SOCIETY



flatlanders soon became familiar with the hazards of mountain climbing. In July 1867, she shared the party's triumph when she became the first woman to climb Pikes Peak. The views that rewarded the group's perseverance in reaching the 14,110-foot summit were more wonderful than had been imagined, with peak after glowing peak piercing the bluest of skies as far as the eye could see.

After this adventure, a grander scheme began to take shape in Powell's mind; he would conquer the mile-deep Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. He was undeterred by the Native American belief that the gods had purposely made the river impassable and that harm would befall anyone who tried to enter the canyon.



Once again Powell traveled to Washington, D.C., to secure financial assistance. Although unable to acquire as much money or as many supplies as he had for his first expedition, he did persuade the railroad and express companies once again to issue passes and to transport the equipment and supplies free of charge.

Powell's companions on the trip would be his brother, Walter; J. C. Sumner, an experienced traveler and hunter in the wilds of the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains; O. G. Howland, a printer, editor, and hunter; his brother, Seneca Howland; Billy Hawkins, an ex-Union soldier who traveled west after the war and who served as the expedition's cook; William Dunn, a hunter, trapper, and mule-packer in Colorado; an Englishman by the name of Frank Goodman, who had come west seeking adventure and who was a skilled boat handler; Andrew Hall, a husky, cheerful 19-year-old, already experienced in hunting, trapping, and fighting Indians; and G. Y. Bradley, a Union lieutenant during the Civil War and until recently an orderly sergeant in the regular army.

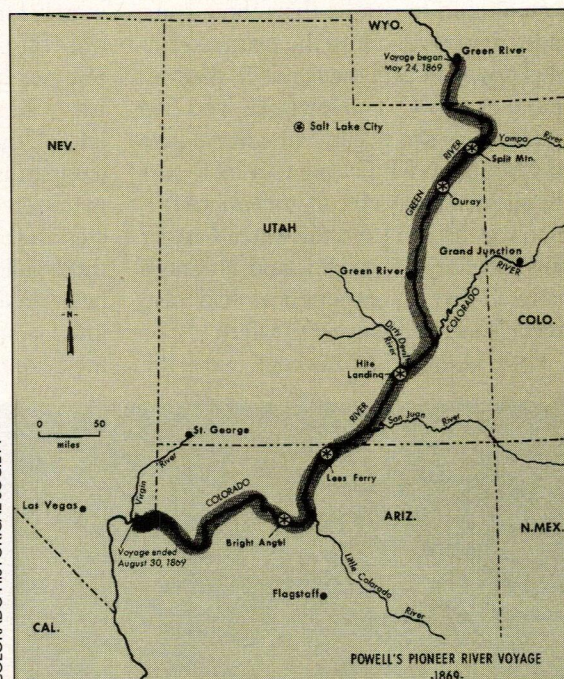
Three of the group's four boats—the *Maid of the Canyon*, *Kitty Clyde's Sister*, and the *No Name*—measured 21 feet in length, were built of oak, and were strengthened by bulkheads that divided each into three compartments, one of which was watertight. The fourth boat, the *Emma Dean*, a 16-foot, pine pilot boat, was lightweight, built for fast rowing, and also was divided into compartments.

The craft carried rations to last for ten months; tools; nails and screws; two sextants; four chronometers; an assortment of barometers, thermometers, and compasses; ample supplies of clothing; and several guns and large quantities of ammunition.

Powell and his party planned to travel first down the Green River to where it meets the Colorado, then proceed down that great river to the Grand Canyon. When several months of preparation for this next adventure were completed, he

and his companions took to the water—with Powell in the *Emma Dean*—at Green River Station, Wyoming Territory, on May 24, 1869. No one knew how long it would be before they reached their destination in Arizona; the river's curves and twists made it impossible to estimate the length of the journey they were undertaking.

On June 9, at a canyon they named



Beginning their journey at Green River, Wyoming Territory, Powell's party followed the course of the Green through Utah until connecting with the Colorado and continuing down that mighty river through the Grand Canyon in Arizona, finally emerging in Nevada three months later.

Lodore, Powell spotted rough water ahead and, intending to look for a way to set up lines and portage around the rapids, pulled his boat ashore. He signaled for the others to do the same, but the crew of the *No Name* failed to understand the signal and continued on ahead. Powell leaped onto a rock and gestured frantically for the men to pull the boat to shore. But it was too late. The little boat was already caught in the current. The Howland brothers and Goodman pulled furiously at the oars and the rear sweep that guided the boat, but to no avail.

The boat hung briefly at the head of the rapids before being swept in. Making it through the first falls, it roared on, then struck a boulder and heaved up at one end, tossing three men into the raging

current. When the boat jammed against a rock, the men grabbed the gunwale and managed to climb back on board. But the current again caught the boat and tossed it down to the next series of rapids. Only the watertight compartment kept the small craft afloat. Roaring down the next set of falls, *No Name* slammed broadside into the rocks and broke in two.

Meanwhile, Powell and the others, watching in horror as their three comrades disappeared into the foam, scrambled down around the bend. To their relief, they saw O. G. Howland, who had made it to a sandy bar, extending a pole to Goodman, who clung to a rock near the shore. Finally able to grab on, Goodman was hauled from the water. Farther downstream, Seneca Howland, although battered by his experience, had also managed to pull himself to safety.

Lost, along with the boat, were the

men's clothes, guns, and belongings, as well as a large store of provisions and, most distressing of all, the barometers, which foolishly had all been stored together. Without these instruments, it would be impossible to determine the altitude of the mountains through which the party would pass.

Determined to recover the lost barometers, Powell set off the next day to search for the wreck, which he found only fifty or sixty feet from their camp. Sumner and Dunn volunteered to retrieve the instruments and whatever was left of the provisions. The watertight compartment had been smashed, but the men were able to bring back the barometers, a package of thermometers, and a three-gallon keg of whiskey that had been taken aboard without Powell's knowledge. That night the bruised and tired explorers made good use of the keg.

It took days to portage past these rapids. The craggy shore offered no good place to camp, nor protection from the river's constant spray. In addition to being tired and wet, the men had to endure clothing full of sand carried by the spray and food that had begun to spoil.

About a week after the loss of the *No Name*, another accident occurred that nearly finished the expedition. While portaging around another set of rapids, the *Maid of the Canyon* broke free of the ropes and went hurtling out of sight into the mist. The loss of this boat would mean that the two remaining would be overloaded, and the party could not survive the loss of this second boatload of provisions.

Luck was with them, however. The men, gripped with despair as they raced down the shore, soon were shouting triumphantly at the sight of the boat whirling upright and unharmed in an eddy. They snagged her in and continued on, emerging finally in a park-like area where the Yampa River flows into the Green. There they camped on a grassy spot to take stock and to rest after their ordeal. Hawkins killed a buck, which provided the men with the first fresh meat they had eaten since the start of their journey.

On June 28, Powell and his party reached the mouth of the Uinta River, in Utah. From here, they were able at last to communicate with the outside world. Frank Powell and Andy Hall went to the Uinta Agency, thirty miles away, to dispatch letters from the men and to collect any mail that had arrived there for them. Goodman, the adventure-seeking Englishman, announced that he "has seen danger enough" and was leaving the party.

When Powell and Hall returned, the rest of the expedition moved on, up barrier canyons, over unexpected rapids, and down rushing waterways, assigning names to each feature as they passed it. Each of the names they chose told a story—the Canyon of Desolation, Dirty Devil River, Sumner's Amphitheater, Gray

The rapids of the Green River, which twice had come close to forcing an end to Powell's expedition, paled by comparison to what awaited the men when they reached the Grand Canyon (left), previously thought, even by Native Americans of the region, to be impassable.



INTERNATIONAL STOCK: PHOTO BY TOM TILL

Canyon, Stillwater Canyon, Whirlpool Canyon, and Bright Angel Creek—and many remain on maps to this day.

Always, Major Powell stood on the prow of the *Emma Dean*, trying to peer around the corners of blind canyons. At every stop, he investigated the geological formations and collected shells to ship back to his mentors. On one occasion, the one-armed explorer climbed a cliff to peer downriver. Near the top, he suddenly found that he could proceed neither up nor down. "I find," he wrote, "I can get up no farther and cannot step back, for I dare not let go with my hand and cannot reach foothold below without."

Having found a way to climb to a flat rock above Powell, Bradley could see the major's toeholds weakening. With no time to run back to the boats for a rope and no stick or tree limb to pass down to Powell, Bradley took off his trousers and lowered them toward the man marooned on the cliff below. Powell could just barely reach the trouser leg as it brushed his hand: "I hug close to the rock, let go with my hand, seize the dangling legs, and with [Bradley's] assistance am enabled to gain the top."

While all this was going on, the nation's newspapers anxiously awaited news of



BROWN BROTHERS

During his second expedition down the Colorado during 1871-72, Powell was accompanied by a photographer, who shot the first pictures ever of such wonders as the Grand Canyon's Inner Gorge (below). For this trip, Powell—shown above with Tau-ruv, a Piaute, in the Uinta Valley—also made special preparations for dealing with Native Americans his party might encounter along the way.

the expedition. As the weeks passed without word of its progress, stories began to surface about the fate of the explorers. On July 2, the *Omaha Republican* reported that a disaster had befallen the Powell party. A trapper, the paper said, claimed that, while at Fort Bridger, he met Sumner, who told him that he had watched helplessly from the shore as all four boats went over a 12-foot-high waterfall and were destroyed in the rapids below.

The story swept eastward and soon appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* and other Illinois newspapers. A man named John A. Risdon claimed to be the only survivor of the Powell expedition. He recounted the disaster of May 8, when the expedition had been lost, and his own desperate struggle to find his way out to civilization.

This brought a letter to the *Detroit Free Press* from Emma Powell accusing Risdon of being a liar. No such person had been with her husband's party, she stated. Moreover, she had received letters from her husband dated May 22, two days before the departure from Green River. Despite her refutation, the story flourished in midwestern and eastern newspapers. Risdon was feted and given free accommodations in return for his tearful rendition of the demise of his comrades.

Then the *Rocky Mountain News* ran two

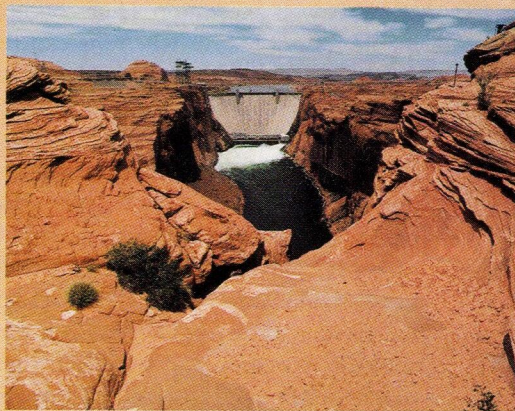


NATIONAL ARCHIVES

REVIVING A RIVER

Among John Wesley Powell's innovative conservation concepts was the management of water resources both through irrigation and by limiting the number of settlers living in the desert areas of the American Southwest. He could not have foreseen that his ideas would inspire the building of dams, power plants, and pipelines that would lead to a tremendous population growth in the region. Since Powell's death in 1902, most major U.S. rivers have been harnessed for irrigation and electricity generation, sometimes to the detriment of the natural environment.

The first river to be controlled through a multipurpose dam—one that



BUREAU OF RECLAMATION: PHOTO BY TOM FRIDMANN

provides power for electricity, water for irrigation and recreation, and a means of flood control—was the Colorado. The earliest major development of the river began in 1928, when Congress passed the Boulder Canyon Project Act, authorizing construction of Boulder (now Hoover) Dam.

In 1963, the 710-foot-high Glen Canyon Dam, located 15.5 miles north of the Grand Canyon, was opened. Built as part of the development of a six-state region, the dam was bitterly opposed by conservationists. Although they failed to prevent the dam's construction, its opponents' efforts effected a change in the conventional wisdom away from the building of large dams and toward water management and the preservation of the environment, the very causes that Powell had championed eighty years earlier.

For millions of years, the Colorado River's rich red sediment replenished the beaches along its shores, sustaining the habitat and wild life. The annual spring flood carried approximately 65 million tons of sediment downriver through the Grand Canyon, to Yuma, Arizona, before eventually emptying into the Gulf of California. But the opening of Glen Canyon Dam abruptly ended this cycle by trapping the sediment in the huge, man-made Lake Powell, adversely affecting the life of the river and turning the once-red Colorado to a pale green.

On March 22 of this year, however, an attempt was made to undo some of the damage by duplicating the natural spring flood and raising the water to pre-dam levels in the hope that restoration of the silt and sand to the riverbeds will rejuvenate the native flora and fauna for the first time in more than thirty years. Engineers at first released a steady 8,000-cubic-foot-per-second flow of water from the dam, increasing it four days later until a 45,000 cubic-foot-per-second flow-rate was established. The flood water—which took about 24 hours to flow down Glen Canyon, through the Grand Canyon and Lake Mead, to Hoover Dam—remained at that level until April 2, when it was gradually reduced. The test, which ended on April 7, is scheduled to be repeated every ten years. ★

letters, both written in June, from its former editorial employee, O. G. Howland. Finally, the *Chicago Tribune* printed a letter from Major Powell himself, in which he recounted how the party had come down the Green River, passed through all the canyons previously considered impassable, and camped in the Uinta Valley of Utah. Newspapers all over the country eagerly printed the good news.

Although the expedition had traveled that far safely, much danger still lay ahead. As they made their way down the Colorado, Powell, from his vantage point on the *Emma Dean's* prow, would peer ahead, wary of the sound of water rushing over a falls. Whenever he sensed danger, Powell would call to his oarsmen to pull the pilot boat over and would motion the others to do the same. Once ashore, he would climb a cliff to evaluate the degree of difficulty they would face. If the falls seemed impassable, the men would lower each boat down with ropes tied fore and aft. As laborious as this task was, it was considerably safer than letting the boats careen over the rocky falls to become caught in the current below.

For the majority of the men, only the occasional exhilaration of running the rapids relieved the monotony of endless days on the river. But to Powell, every moment was exhilarating. His diary describes in poetic detail, the colors of the rocks, the magnificence of the cliffs, and the majesty of the waterway itself.

By July 18, the men rested before undertaking the most harrowing part of the journey. The glassy granite canyon walls would soon squeeze ever closer to the turbulent river. In some areas, cliffs overhung the water, threatening to decapitate a man if his boat slid under the jagged rock. And, from here on, maps were useless; mapmakers had merely guessed at the points where rivers poured into the canyons.

The boats left the Green River on July 21, and headed down the Colorado. As they navigated the wide, deep, cocoa-colored river, they passed canyon walls that reached almost 1,500 feet in height. The rapids they had encountered so far, though they seemed fearsome at the time, were trifling by comparison. Portaging too was more dangerous; often there were no footholds, no way to line

continued on page 58

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MADAM C.J. WALKER

BY A'LELIA BUNDLES BORN IN DELTA, LOUISIANA, TO FORMER SLAVES, SARAH BREEDLOVE WALKER FOUNDED A BUSINESS THAT MADE HER THE FIRST FEMALE AFRICAN-AMERICAN MILLIONAIRE.

BUOYED BY A WAVE of recent good fortune, Madam C. J. Walker arrived in Chicago for her first National Negro Business League (NNBL) convention in 1912 eager to tell the other delegates about her bustling new Indianapolis factory and her surging monthly sales receipts. This 44-year-old former washerwoman was confident the mostly male membership would welcome her as a worthy colleague once they heard how she had turned a \$1.50 investment into a thriving hair-care products company in just seven years. But first she had to convince Booker T. Washington, the group's founder and America's most influential black leader, to carve out a slot for her on his already overbooked program.

Walker was among those who admired Washington's exemplary personal journey from slave to educator to presidential advisor. Although by 1912 his gradualistic, accommodationist approach to civil rights was being challenged within the black community by a new generation of more progressive activists like W. E. B. Du Bois of the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Washington still retained his preeminent position.

Walker, who had met Washington at least twice before, suspected he might be reluctant to grant her a forum. Two years earlier, when she had written to him seeking advice and investment capital, he had brushed her off with replies that were noncommittal at best, condescending at worst. When she wrote again in late 1911 seeking an invitation

to his annual Negro Conference at Tuskegee Institute—the Alabama school he had founded in 1881—he openly discouraged her from attending, because of his skepticism of female entrepreneurs.

Undaunted, and presumably uninvited, Walker arrived on Tuskegee's campus in January 1912. Determined to grab Washington's attention, she personally delivered to his home a letter of reference from the newly installed secretary of Indianapolis's "colored" Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and made another plea to address the group. Her persistence was rewarded, not with

an audience during the regular sessions of the conference, but with ten minutes at the well-attended evening chapel.

Anticipating another challenge from Washington, Walker began a quiet, behind-the-scenes campaign for a place on the speakers' rostrum as soon as she registered in Chicago. With the help of Indianapolis *Freeman* publisher George Knox, a long-time NNBL member and Washington associate, she hoped to melt Washington's coolness toward her.

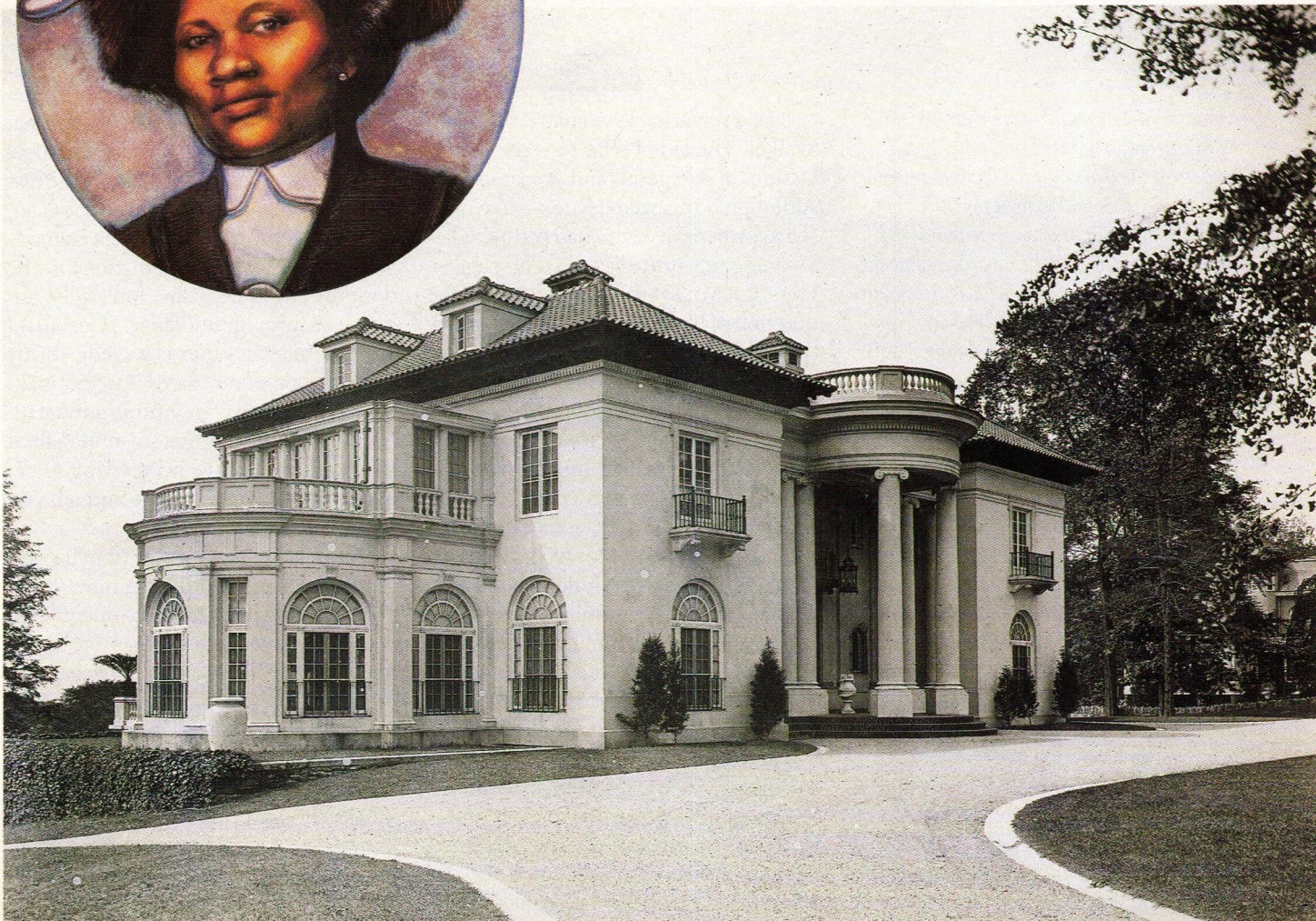
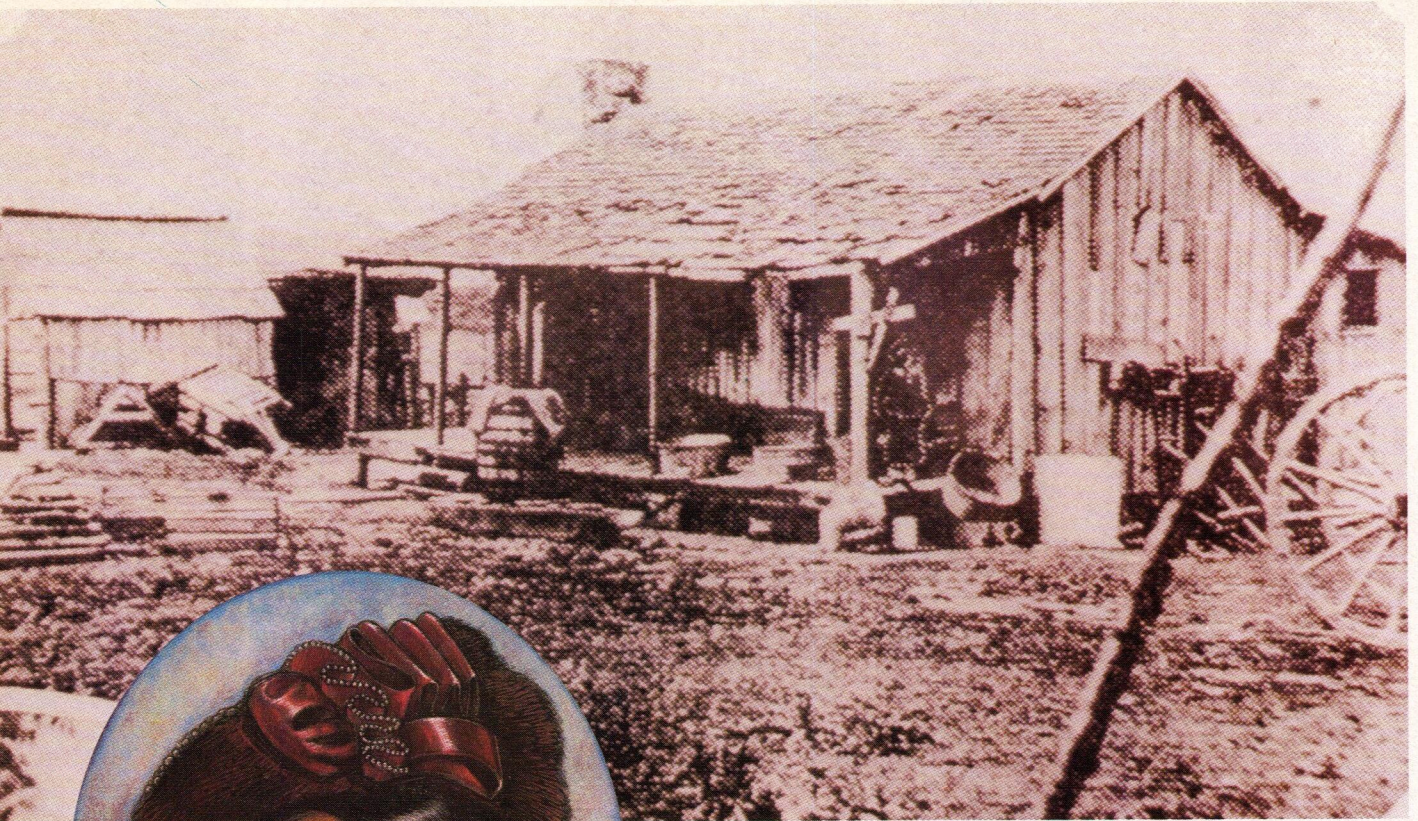
On Wednesday evening, Walker and the two thousand delegates and guests greeted Washington's annual speech with a foot-stomping standing ovation that reverberated from the altar of the Institutional Church to its rafters. "The men and women of our race of this generation hold in their hands the future of the generations that are to follow," she heard him say. "This is in an especial sense true of the Negro business man and woman. If we do not do our duty now in laying the proper foundation for economic and commercial growth, our children, and our children's children will suffer because of our inactivity or shortness of vision."

Awaiting a reply to her request to speak, Walker must have savored Washington's words. Who better to illustrate his description of a successful businesswoman than she? Washington had probably seen her well-equipped factory during a visit to Indianapolis the previous summer. He knew she provided jobs for hundreds of Walker agents and "hair culturists" who were selling her products across the country. Inveterate reader that he was, he could not have missed her advertisements in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine. And he must have read the news of her \$1,000 contribution to the Indianapolis YMCA in late 1911. If anyone was doing her part to "lay the proper foundation" of which he had spoken, it was she.

Earlier in the evening Walker had probably listened carefully as Julia H. P. Coleman, a pharmacist and hair-care-



Born Sarah Breedlove, Madam C. J. Walker (right, inset), developed a profitable business around a number of hair care products (left) that allowed her to rise from the poverty of her roots in Delta, Louisiana (top, right), to become the first female African-American millionaire, with a beautiful home in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York (bottom, right).





Madam Walker, shown here with Booker T. Washington (to her left) and other black leaders at the dedication of the Indianapolis YMCA in 1913, had to fight for the right to be heard at that gathering. Speaking from the audience, she told the attendees that she had risen from the cotton fields of the South to the washtub and the cook kitchen. From there, she said, "... I promoted myself into the business of manufacturing hair goods and preparations."

products manufacturer, described the growing demand among black women for pomades, shampoos, and hair oils. No doubt Walker leaned forward intently the next morning as Anthony Overton, founder of the Overton Hygienic Company, claimed that his sales of baking powder, hair pomades, face powder, and toilet articles had made his business the "largest Negro manufacturing enterprise in the United States."

As Overton completed his remarks, Walker's fellow Hoosier, George Knox, stood and addressed Booker T. Washington from the audience. "I arise to ask this convention for a few minutes of its time

to hear a remarkable woman . . . Madam Walker. The lady I refer to is the manufacturer of hair goods and preparations." Although he respected Knox—like himself a former slave who had prospered—Washington curtly dismissed his suggestion. "But Mr. Knox, we are taking up the question of life membership," he replied, then recognized another speaker.

That evening, as Sears, Roebuck & Company president Julius Rosenwald dispensed business advice to an attentive packed house, Walker must have wondered how Washington could continue to deny her. Surely the presence of Rosenwald, a major contributor to Tuskegee Institute as well as to the fund to build YMCAs in black communities across the country, must have reminded Washington that Walker's \$1,000 contribution in Indianapolis was the largest any black woman had yet made to the effort.

By Friday—the third and final day—a frustrated Walker resolved to confront Washington. During the morning session, as members of the National Bankers' Association recounted the development of black-owned banks, Walk-

er mustered her nerve while battling her anger and impatience. Timing, she knew, was crucial. At just the right moment, as Washington prepared to call upon yet another banker, Walker seized her chance.

"Surely you are not going to shut the door in my face," she forcefully announced from the audience. "I feel that I am in a business that is a credit to the womanhood of our race." After tabulating her impressive, mounting annual income, she aimed a not so subtle jab at Washington. "I have been trying to get before you business people and tell you what I am doing."

"I am a woman who came from the cotton fields of the South," the now stately and well-dressed Walker continued with increasing assurance. "I was promoted from there to the washtub. Then I was promoted to the cook kitchen. And from there I promoted myself into the business of manufacturing hair goods and preparations. Everybody told me I was making a mistake by going into this business, but I know how to grow hair as well as I know how to grow cotton . . . I have built my own factory on my own ground!"

"I AM A WOMAN who came from the cotton fields of the South. I was promoted from there to the washtub. Then I was promoted to the cook kitchen. And from there I promoted myself into the business of manufacturing hair goods and preparations."

In a setting so controlled by Washington's directives, Walker's remarks must have startled the audience. How could she have been so bold as to challenge this influential dispenser of favors, this advisor to presidents, this dinner guest of the wealthy? But her brazenness paid off, gaining, if not Washington's wholehearted acceptance, at least enough grudging respect that she was invited back the following two years as a scheduled speaker.

At the dedication of the Indianapolis YMCA in July 1913, Walker finally received Washington's recognition when he publicly praised her philanthropic generosity, then later wrote to her, in a tone very different from his earlier letters: "I want to thank you for the courtesies you showed me while in your magnificent home. You have indeed a model home and a business we should all be proud of."

A few weeks later, as Walker waited her turn as an *invited* speaker at the fourteenth annual NNBL conference in Philadelphia, Washington graciously welcomed the woman he had initially snubbed: "I now take pleasure in introducing to the convention, one of the most progressive and successful businesswomen of our race—Madam C. J. Walker."

After her remarks, Washington told the delegates, "We thank her for her excellent address and for all she has done for our race. You talk about what the men are doing in a business way. Why if we don't watch out, the women will excel us." For Walker, there were few more deeply satisfying moments.

Perhaps she might have preferred a less contentious start to her relationship with Washington, but a lifetime of adversity had taught Walker to cherish the rewards of triumphing over obstacles. Born Sarah Breedlove in 1867 on a Delta, Louisiana, plantation, this daughter of former slaves transformed herself from an uneducated farm laborer and laundress into a celebrated entrepreneur,

philanthropist, and social activist.

Orphaned at age seven—when her parents died, possibly during an outbreak of yellow fever—she often said, "I got my start by giving myself a start." Motherless and fatherless, hungry and sometimes homeless, the young Sarah and her older sister, Louvenia, survived by working in the cotton fields around Delta, and Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Marriage at age 14 to Moses McWilliams was her escape from life with her sister's husband, whom she later described as "cruel." On her husband's death just six years later, in 1887, Sarah became a twenty-year-old widow with a two-year-old daughter. She was compelled to move again, this time up river to St. Louis where gas lamps brightened city nights and where she had heard that washtubs and "white folks' dirty clothes" replaced cotton bolls and the threat of nightriders.

In this energetic river city, Sarah Breedlove McWilliams earned a reputation as a first-class laundress, but she wanted more than a washerwoman's wage for herself and her daughter, Lelia (later known as A'Lelia Walker). "As I bent over the washboard and looked at my arms buried in the soapsuds," she later remembered, "I said to myself, 'What

are you going to do when you grow old and your back gets stiff?' This set me to thinking, but with all my thinking, I couldn't see how I, a poor washerwoman, was going to better my condition."

What she did see all around her were the trappings of a more comfortable life—in the homes of her clients as she dropped off their wash; in the mannerisms and fashions of the educated, urbanized black women in her church, on the faces of the women who rode downtown in horse-drawn carriages.

Worn as her own clothes must have been, she still prided herself on her appearance, on the starch in her dresses and the perfectly ironed collars and cuffs. But her hair was another matter. It was thin, unhealthy, patchy, and frayed. Like many women of the time, she suffered from alopecia, a stress-, diet-, and hygiene-related scalp ailment characterized by excessive, infectious dandruff that

Walker trained a force of African-American women as "hair culturists" to sell and demonstrate her products. The Walker agents (below), assembled in Philadelphia in 1917 for the first convention of the Madam C. J. Walker Hair Culturists Union of America, were told to use their own success to advance other women.



A'LELIA BUNDLES WALKER COLLECTION

made her nearly bald. She tried home-made remedies and store-bought products, including the hair pomades of another black, St. Louis businesswoman, Annie Malone, who had founded her own company in 1900.

Apparently finding some benefit from Malone's products, McWilliams moved to Denver in 1905 to sell Malone's "Wonderful Hair Grower." But by the spring of 1906, she had trained her eyes on more lucrative horizons. In January 1906, after she married Charles Joseph Walker—an ambitious, if sometime luckless, promoter—the couple explored ways to combine their complementary talents of her marketing ability and his knack for creating newspaper advertising. In the fashion of many women proprietors of her era, she adopted the title, "Madam," and attached to it her husband's name. She stopped selling Malone's "Wonderful Hair Grower" and started mixing her own formula, which she claimed had been revealed to her in a dream after she had prayed for a remedy to restore her hair.

"God answered my prayer, for one night I had a dream and in that dream a big black man appeared to me and told me what to mix up for my hair," she told a reporter. "I put it on my scalp, and in a few weeks my hair was coming in faster than it had ever fallen out. I tried it on my friends; it helped them. I made up my mind I would begin to sell it."

To promote her own products, the new "Madam C. J. Walker" traveled for a year and a half on a dizzying crusade through the heavily black South and Southwest, demonstrating her scalp treatments, selling her tins of Glossine and Wonderful Hair Grower, and devising sales and marketing strategies. In 1908, she temporarily moved her base to Pittsburgh and opened Lelia College—which she named for her daughter—to train Walker "hair culturists." By early 1910, she had settled in Indianapolis, then the nation's largest inland manufacturing center, and there

built a factory, a hair and manicure salon, and another training school. When she attended the NNBL convention in 1912, she claimed a thousand Walker agents. Around the same time, she also divorced Charles Joseph Walker, business differences having spilled over into the couple's personal life.

Much of Walker's ascendancy as a businesswoman came from her instincts and her ability to discern what other women like herself wanted and needed. In an era when even the most respectable black woman's morality was questioned and sullied by detractors of African Americans, middle-class black women in particular placed tremendous pressure on themselves to conform to the Victorian behavior and dress that prevailed in America at the turn of the century. Entwined with the fashions and the idealized dictates of upper-class society were also Euro-American standards of beauty that prized white skin and long, straight hair. Even within the African-American community, mulatto women, whose ap-

pearance was often more European than African, were often favored.

Because Walker's unabashedly Negroid facial features and hair were like those of most African-American women, she understood the wishes of her sisters to be attractive to themselves and to men in a society that assigned both caste and class on the basis of skin color and hair texture. Acutely aware of the debate about whether black women should alter the appearance of their natural hair, Walker insisted years later that her hair-care system was not intended as a "hair straightener," but rather as a grooming method to heal and condition the scalp to promote hair growth.

An intense advocate of racial pride, she did not fully reconcile the insidious pressure both from within the black community and from society as a whole to conform to European tastes even when she and her agents were among the hair culturists who popularized the use of the metal straightening comb. "Right here let me correct the erroneous impression held by some that I claim to straighten



One of Madam Walker's protégées was Marjorie Stewart Joyner, who began her association with the company as a sales agent and salon owner; but who later became national supervisor of all Walker Beauty Schools. Joyner is shown with a Walker mobile training unit (right, top) and demonstrating the company's products to a class of beauty culture students.

hair," she once told a reporter. "I want the great masses of my people to take greater pride in their personal appearance and to give their hair proper attention."

At a time when ninety percent of African Americans lived in the South and most working black women were field laborers and household domestics, few people were contemplating, let alone exalting, their natural beauty. In fact, mainstream newspapers, magazines, and books were more likely to portray black women in unflattering, stereotypical images.

Walker, convinced that she had identified an unfulfilled need with her products and her grooming system, offered both personal attention and pampering, as well as economic self-sufficiency. To foster cooperation among her agents and to protect them from competitors, Walker organized them into local and state clubs of the Madam C. J. Walker Hair Culturists Union of America. Then, beginning in 1917, she held what must have been among the first annual convention for American businesswomen.

As her business grew, Walker became increasingly conscious of her power and her obligation to, as she often said, "help my race." Of her contributions to black preparatory schools and colleges, orphanages, and retirement homes, as well as to social and cultural organizations and institutions, she said: "My object in life is not simply to make money for myself or to spend it on myself in dressing or running around in an automobile, but I love to use a part of what I make in trying to help others."

After moving to New York City's Harlem in 1916, she became increasingly involved in the NAACP's anti-lynching movement, eventually contributing \$5,000 to the organization's political and educational fund to end mob violence. In July 1917, when white thugs in East St. Louis murdered more than three dozen blacks, Walker joined other Harlem leaders in the Negro Silent Protest Parade. The massive, anti-lynching demonstration drew some ten thousand black New Yorkers who marched somberly and speechlessly down Fifth Avenue to the cadence of muffled drums, with banners and posters held high, to protest Jim Crow laws, mob violence, and disenfranchisement.

A few days later, Walker—along with James Weldon Johnson; Abyssinian Bap-

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BOTH PHOTOS: ALELIA BUNDLES/WALKER COLLECTION

tist Church minister Adam Clayton Powell, Sr.; Harlem realtor John E. Nail; and New York Age publisher Fred Moore—boarded a train to Washington to meet with President Woodrow Wilson. Their mission was to present a petition favoring legislation to make lynching a federal crime.

Although they knew that Wilson, the first southern-born president since the Civil War, had instituted racial segregation in federal buildings shortly after being elected, the group hoped he would listen to what they had to say. But because he had also hesitated to condemn lynching publicly—apparently for fear of alienating his southern constituents

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Madam Walker marketed her products aggressively, including in her advertisements (above, top) the assurance that "All Mme. Walker's Inventions are reliable . . ." In 1910, Walker established the permanent national headquarters of her business in Indianapolis, Indiana, a city located at the heart of America's transportation network. She built a factory (above, bottom) that became a city landmark. Today, both the factory and Madam Walker's Irvington, New York, home are national historic landmarks.

“ZITO HELLAS!”

BY JOSEPH GUSTAITIS THEIR CHEERS OF “LONG LIVE GREECE!” IN THE NATIVE LANGUAGE HELPED TO SECURE THE POPULARITY OF THE AMERICANS TAKING PART IN THE FIRST MODERN OLYMPICS IN 1896.

FOR HARVARD UNDERGRADUATE Ellery Clark, the great adventure began with a letter that was waiting for him when he got back to his room. It was from Harvard University's Dean Le Baron Russell Briggs, whom Clark had been to see a few days before. Nervously, he opened the envelope and read the first sentence: “After careful deliberation I have decided to let you go to Greece.” Clark, as he later recounted, “gave a shout that could have been heard, I believe, half way to Boston.”

It was no wonder, for Clark was on his way to making history. Ellery H. Clark was going to be a member of the United States team that would compete in the first modern Olympic Games, which were to be held in Athens during April 6-15, 1896.

Like other nineteenth-century undergraduates, Clark was steeped in the classics and knew all about the Olympic Games that had been the most important religious and athletic festival of ancient Greece. Indeed, the Greeks believed that the quadrennial event, held at Olympia, had been founded by Hercules himself. In these contests, male Greek athletes competed in events such as chariot- and horseracing, footracing, boxing, and the pentathlon (discus and javelin throwing, long jumping, sprinting, and wrestling). The Games were held for more than a thousand years—the first recorded Olympic victory was in 776 B.C. and the final festival seems to



BOTH IMAGES: GRANGER COLLECTION

The imagery of the poster (right) created for the 1896 Olympics in Athens recalled the origins of the Games as the most important religious and athletic festival of ancient Greece. The parade of winners at those first modern Games (above) included a number of Americans, the team having garnered 17 medals, mostly in track and field events.

have occurred in A.D. 393.

The revival of the Olympic Games to which Clark was headed was almost sin-

glehandedly the work of a diminutive, sharp-eyed, energetic Frenchman named Pierre baron de Coubertin, who was born in Paris on New Year's Day, 1863. The love of things English had been a significant part of French intellectual life at least since Voltaire, the eighteenth-century French philosopher. But instead of idolizing Sir Isaac Newton, William Shakespeare, or George Gordon, Lord Byron, as his predecessors had, Coubertin worshipped Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster of Britain's Rugby School. Coubertin mistakenly believed that Arnold, considered to be the country's leading nineteenth-century educational reformer, was also a strong advocate of team games and athletic contests.

Himself an accomplished fencer, rower, and boxer, Coubertin visited England several times during the 1880s and was delighted to see how avidly British students, unlike the sedentary French, participated in sports. He concluded that by introducing the French to the kind of regimen he had observed at Rugby School, he could save his nation from the decadence into which it seemed to have been falling ever since its shameful defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

Coubertin's notion of reviving the ancient Greek Olympic Games was thus an outgrowth of his activity as an educational reformer and an advocate of physical education. The idea itself was not en-



ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΚΟΙ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ

ATHÈNES 1896

LES JEUX OLYMPIQUES

tirely new; games that called themselves "Olympics" had already been held in England, Sweden, and Greece itself. These, however, had been local events. Coubertin's vision was broader; he dreamed of a competition that would be international in scope. With this aim in mind, the International Congress of Paris for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games was convened in June 1894. Coubertin was ecstatic when the Congress, with the unanimous support of the delegates and sports associations from 12 countries, agreed to re-establish the Games. The organization that grew from the Paris Congress, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), became the foundation stone of the modern Olympic Games.

Athens, the capital of Greece, was the logical place to stage the Games, but the Greek government, saddled with an enormous foreign debt, resisted the idea until George Averoff, a millionaire merchant from the Greek community in Alexandria, Egypt, generously donated the necessary capital. Averoff's funding, together with other private donations, allowed the reconstruction of Athens's ancient stadium, erected in 350 B.C. Its successor was built of white marble in the shape of an elongated U, with a seating capacity of 60,000.

Some 280 male athletes from 13 countries traveled to Athens for the first modern Olympiad, which kicked off with a grand opening ceremony on the Monday after Easter. The crowds in the stadium—augmented by some fifty thousand spectators on the surrounding hills—cheered as King George I of Greece announced: "I hereby proclaim the opening of the First International Games in Athens." A three-hundred-voice choir then broke into the "Cantata of the Olympic Games."

The 13-member American team was the largest foreign contingent sent to

compete. Although this was a time in which interest in things athletic was becoming fashionable in the United States, support for the Olympic Games was mixed. No doubt, this was due in part to a lack of publicity, but also, there were those who could not see the point of reviving this long-dead event. One newspaper writer warned that "the American amateur sportsman in general should know that in going to Athens he is taking an expensive journey to a third rate capital, where he will be devoured by fleas. . . It is more than 2,000 years since the Greeks practiced the art of keeping their pores open by manly sport once a day."

Nonetheless, when William Milligan Sloane, a professor of history and political science at Princeton University in New Jersey, assumed his position as head of the American Olympic Committee, he was able to persuade the dean of his school to grant a six-week leave of absence to four sports-minded members of the junior class—Robert Garrett, Jr.; Herbert B. Jameson; Francis A. Lane; and Albert C. Tyler.

Garrett, who at 6'2" was the tallest member of the U.S. squad, joined the team as a shot-putter. A lover of the classics, he had, even before learning about the Olympic revival, tinkered with re-



Saddled with an enormous foreign debt, the government of Greece could not have afforded to host the 1896 Games had George Averoff—a millionaire member of the Greek community in Alexandria, Egypt—not donated the funds necessary to build an arena on the site of the ancient Panathenean stadium in Athens (right).

constructing an ancient Greek discus. He fashioned a metal disk that was an inch thick and a foot across, but, finding it too heavy and too uncontrollable, decided to stick to the shot put.

The other American athletes came from Boston, where members of the highly regarded Boston Athletic Association (BAA) got hold of Coubertin's printed announcement of the forthcoming Games. Their participation, however, actually began as a joke. After Arthur Blake won the 1,000-yard race at the BAA's annual meet at Mechanics' Hall in January 1896, he quipped: "Oh, I'm too good for Boston. I ought to go over and

run the marathon at Athens." Thereupon, a wealthy stockbroker named Arthur Burnham asked him if he were serious. Being assured that Blake would indeed be delighted to undertake the trip, Burnham offered to finance the sending of a BAA team to the Games.

The four members of that BAA squad were Harvard graduates—Blake, sprinter Thomas Burke, hurdler Thomas P. Curtis, and pole-vaulter William W. Hoyt. Clark had Dean Briggs's permission to accompany them because of his high academic standing, but a similar request by another Harvard student, 27-year-old James B. Connolly, who came from a

poor, Irish-American family in South Boston, was denied because his grades were not as stellar. Connolly, therefore, told the dean that "I am not resigning and I am not making application to reenter. But I *am* going to the Olympic Games, so I am through with Harvard right now. Good day, sir."

The BAA team, Clark, and Connolly were then joined by three more Bostonians—Gardiner Williams—a swimmer—and John and Sumner Paine, who were brothers, Army captains, and shooting competitors. Not knowing what kind of shooting events there would be, the Paines packed up 8 guns and 3,500 rounds of ammunition (they would need only 96).

The Bostonians and the Princetonians voyaged together on the *Fulda*, which set sail from Hoboken, New Jersey, in late March 1896. The ship's captain cleared a space on the second cabin deck for them to hold daily workouts; spiked shoes, however, which would have damaged the decks, were replaced by rubber-soled footwear. Clark found it challenging to practice high jumping on a rolling ship. "It all depended upon whether you left the deck at the moment when the vessel was bound up or down," he said. "If the former, about two feet was the limit you might attain; if the latter, there came the glorious sensation of flying through space . . ."

The athletes traveled to Bremen, Germany, and then to Gibraltar, where friendly British officers lent their playing fields and Blake tried to get in shape for the marathon by running behind the carriages of his friends as they set about seeing the sights. From there, the lads sailed to Naples, caught a train across Italy, and in Brindisi, boarded a ship bound for Greece.

"When we detrained in Athens on the day preceding the opening of the games," Curtis later recalled, "we were not exactly in what today's Olympic coaches would call the pink." The young Americans received an enthusiastic welcome in the Greek capital, where their hosts regaled them with long, "entirely unintelligible" speeches, and multiple toasts of the local *retsina* wine. The crew aboard the U.S. Navy cruiser *San Francisco*, which was docked in nearby Piraeus, was on hand to cheer their countrymen.

The American athletes dominated the



INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

highly visible track and field contests and became great crowd favorites, as they won a total of 11 out of 44 events. Casting about for an explanation of U.S. superiority, one Greek newspaper conjectured that the Americans "... joined the inherited athletic training of the Anglo-Saxon to the wild impetuosity of the red-skin." Another noticed the peculiar American habit of chewing gum and attributed their endurance to the fact that they "chewed pitch to strengthen their lungs."

The American medal parade began with Connolly, the Harvard dropout. On opening day, after some preliminary heats of the 100-meter dash, he participated in the first medal event, the triple

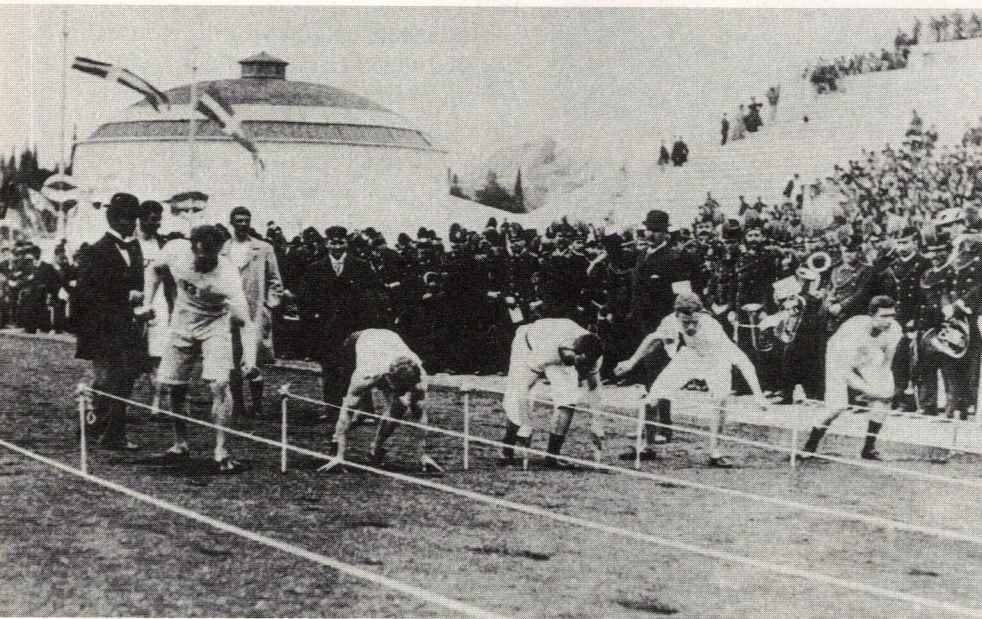
repertoire, and the gesture secured their already notable popularity.

After the triple jump, the next big event was the discus, in which the Greeks had high hopes. But Princeton's Garrett, who had earlier foregone his notion of attempting the event, had found a standard Olympic discus lying on a practice field in Athens. Discovering that it weighed an unexpectedly light two kilograms (slightly more than four pounds), he quickly reconsidered and improvised an effective method of hurling the object. On his final attempt, Garrett edged a popular Greek named Panagiotis Paraskevopoulos by seven inches. That Garrett's effort was good enough to win first place says a lot

meter races, Garrett in the shot put, and Hoyt in the pole vault. Sumner Paine won the free pistol event, and his brother John came in first in the military revolver competition.

At these first Games, only those who placed first and second in an event received prizes, with a diploma, a silver medal, and a crown of olive branches going to the first-place winners and the runners-up taking home a diploma, a bronze medal, and a laurel crown. All competitors were given a medal commemorating their participation.

Thomas Curtis had his moment of glory on April 10. Upon his arrival in Greece the previous Sunday, his hotel's owner had asked him which was his event. Upon being told high hurdles, the Greek roared with laughter and then apologized, advising the unlucky American that he had come all that way in vain because a Greek champion had already posted an incredible time of 19.8 seconds. "As I had never heard of anyone



The prime mover in the effort to revive the Olympic Games was Pierre baron de Coubertin (below), a Frenchman who saw athletics as a way to lift his countrymen out of a lethargy he viewed as harmful to the nation. International standards at the 1896 Games, as is evident from the different starting positions assumed by competitors (left), were not as rigid as they later became.

jump. After a respectable leap by Alexandre Tuffère of France, Connolly, who, unlike the fans, knew something about the world standards in the event, gamely walked past the spot of Tuffère's landing and dropped his hat on the ground. Connolly's jump landed a little farther than the cap, and the audience shouted "It's a miracle!"

Connolly thus became the first modern Olympic champion. And when the U.S. flag was raised, the stupefied spectators were treated to the alien sound of a *bona fide* American college cheer. Their bewilderment only heightened as the Games went on and locomotive cheers such as "B.A.A.! Rah! Rah! Rah!" and the mysterious "Siss-boom-bah!" rang out with each subsequent U.S. triumph. By the end of the Games, however, the Yanks had learned to add "Zito Hellas!" ("Long Live Greece!") to their

about the training standards of those first modern Games. Curtis later commented that Garrett was "aided by his great strength, great length of arm, and an enormous amount of good luck."

Ellery Clark's turn came on the second day of competition, when he competed in the long jump. "It was little short of agony," he said. "I shall never forget my feelings as I stood at the end of the path for my third—and last—try. Five thousand miles, I reflected, I had come; and was it to end in this?" But his last attempt was perfect; his winning leap of 6.35 meters (20'10") was more than a foot ahead of Garrett's second place finish. Three days later, Clark added a second victory by outleaping Connolly and Garrett—who tied for second—by more than six inches in the high jump.

Other American winners during the Games were Burke in the 100- and 400-





running the high hurdles [110 meters] in such amazingly slow time," Curtis wrote, "I decided that I should not take the mental hazard of the Great Greek Threat too seriously."

As Curtis was to discover, given the technique of the Greek hurdler, 19.8 seconds really was a remarkable time. He treated "each hurdle as a high jump, trotting up to it, leaping, and landing on both feet." In the finals, Curtis edged a Briton named Grantley Goulding in the stretch and finished first by about two inches in a fairly slow 17.6 seconds. Actually, the times posted in the track events in this first modern Olympics were well off world-record pace, which was attributed to the new track's hard base and loose surface.

Gardiner Williams, the Boston swimmer, did not fare well. Instead of being held in a nice warm pool, the swimming events took place in the ocean waters of the Bay of Zea at Piraeus—and this was early April. As Curtis later recalled it, the competitors dived into the icy water at the crack of the starter's pistol. Immediately, Williams's "head reappeared. 'Jesu Christo! I'm freezing!' and with that shriek of astonished frenzy he lashed back to the float. For him the Olympics were over."

By far the most thrilling event of the

1896 Athens Games was the marathon, which was run at a 40-kilometer—approximately 26 miles—distance, a little shorter than today's. The race honored the memory of the legendary Greek runner Pheidippides, who supposedly carried the news of the Greek victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 B.C. from the battlefield to Athens, where he called out "Be joyful! We win!" before dropping dead from exhaustion.

Although they had warmed toward the Yankee champions, the Greek spectators longed for a champion of their own. As Clark put it, "The Greeks seemed to feel that the national honor was at stake; the excitement was so great as to be almost painful; and on all sides we heard the cry, 'The other events to the Americans; the Marathon to a Greek.'"

And the Greeks seemed to have a good chance. They had practiced diligently—two preliminary marathons had been run in March—and there were only 4 foreigners among the 17 entrants: Arthur Blake of the United States; Australia's Edwin Flack, the 800-meter champion; Albin Lermusiaux of France; and Hungary's Gyula Kellner. Having earlier won a forty kilometer Olympic trial in Budapest, Kellner was the only foreign runner who

Members of the American team, shown here with Greece's two royal princes and Greek athletes and officials, gained the affection of the spectators from the host country, who reacted with amusement to the Yankees' cheers and showmanship.

had experience in a race of such distance.

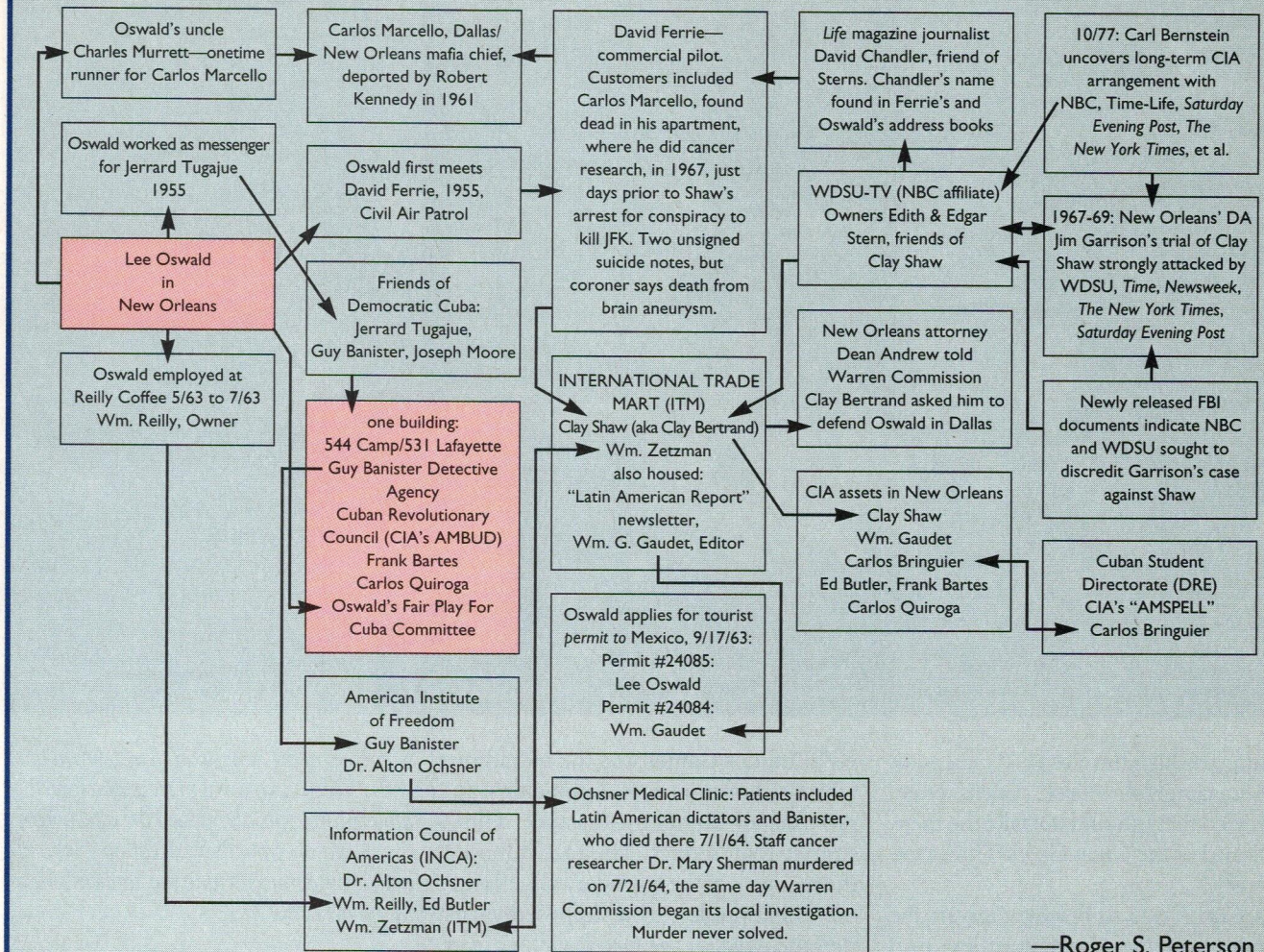
Frighteningly for the Greeks, the 4 foreigners quickly became the 4 leaders, and after 15 kilometers, Lermusiaux was a full 3 kilometers ahead of Flack, who was closely trailed by Blake and Kellner. But this early lead was due to inexperience. One by one the foreigners either fell back or quit. Kellner did manage to finish third, and Lermusiaux staggered into the empty stadium after dark.

Blake broke down at the 23rd kilometer, and it was said that blood was seeping out of his shoes. Also at kilometer 23, the tiring Flack was passed by the steadily striding, 24-year-old Spiridon Louis of Greece. Flack eventually got within four kilometers of the stadium before collapsing into delirium.

Meanwhile, the massive crowd waited for news of the runners. Disappointment hung heavy when messengers on bicycles and horseback brought the news that Flack was winning, but then the starter,

continued on page 63

A LONER'S LIAISONS—OSWALD IN NEW ORLEANS



—Roger S. Peterson

DECLASSIFIED. . . .

continued from page 26

Newly released government files, plus the results of digging by researchers William Davy, Peter Veal, and Jim DiEugenio, indicate that Oswald was frequently seen with Shaw, Ferrie, and Banister. In 1995, Lou Ivon, an investigator for Garrison, told Davy that in February 1967 he had met with a frightened David Ferrie, who admitted doing contract work for the CIA and who knew Oswald and Shaw. Four days after he told Ivon that Shaw worked for the CIA and that he hated Kennedy, Ferrie was found dead. Two unsigned suicide notes were found next to the body, but the autopsy cited a ruptured brain aneurysm as the cause of death.

In 1994, DiEugenio interviewed a former Banister undercover worker, Dan Campbell, who stated that when Oswald walked into Banister's detective agency at

544 Camp Street in New Orleans during the summer of 1963, he was assigned an office.* The pro-Castro Fair Play For Cuba Committee literature distributed by Oswald also bore the same Camp Street address. For activists of such starkly different viewpoints to peacefully share its hallways, this small building on the corner of Camp and Lafayette Streets must have enjoyed high standards of tenant relations.

A document relating to Shaw was released by the CIA in 1992. Made public in "redacted"—blacked-out—form in the late 1970s, it contains an enumeration of Shaw's many dealings with the CIA's Domestic Contacts Service. Cited within the document is a 1967 CIA memo about an agency project called QKENCHANT and its requisite covert security requirements, stating "Shaw has #402897-A."

*The address of Banister's office has often been given as 531 Lafayette Street; a corner building, it had two entrances and thus two addresses.

Davy, noticing the present tense of the QKENCHANT/Shaw reference, showed it to former CIA officer Victor Marchetti in 1995. Marchetti guardedly admitted the document indicates active CIA involvement by Shaw at least until 1967, the year of his arrest. Marchetti suspected that Shaw was involved with the CIA's clandestine Services Branch, where E. Howard Hunt—later of Watergate fame—worked at the time. Shortly after he interviewed Marchetti, Davy found a 1970 CIA document that specifically cites Hunt's involvement in QKENCHANT. Another CIA document, released in 1994, lists Shaw, his alias "Clay Bertrand," and his 1951 date of service. But at his trial, Shaw denied ever working for the CIA and ever using the Bertrand alias.

This new information shines a spotlight on the rationale Garrison used to bring conspiracy charges against Shaw in 1967. Shaw was acquitted after two years

of concerted media criticism of Garrison. A May 18, 1967 memo, for example, from the New Orleans' FBI office to Director Hoover stated that "A local FBI agent reported that Richard Townley, WDSU-TV, New Orleans, remarked to a special agent of the New Orleans office last evening that he had received instructions from NBC, New York, to prepare a one hour TV special on Jim Garrison with the instruction 'shoot him down'."

This apparent lack of media objectivity was partially explained by investigative journalist Carl Bernstein in an October 1977 article for *Rolling Stone* magazine. Bernstein discovered a long-standing cooperation between the CIA and many media organizations, involving resource sharing, secrecy agreements, and covert operations. Among the media involved, he said, were the three major television networks; *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines; *The New York Times*; and Associated Press and United Press International.

Less than ten years after Shaw's acquittal, the HSCA investigations found evidence linking Oswald, Shaw, Banister, and Ferrie. The committee concluded that JFK was assassinated as a result of a conspiracy. But the final 1979 HSCA report did not include a memo, released in 1992, by staff counsel Jonathon Blackmer, in which he declared: "We have reason to believe Shaw was heavily involved in the anti-Castro efforts in New Orleans in the 1960's and [was] possibly one of the high level planners or 'cut out' to the planners of the assassination."

Transcripts of a telephone conversation between Hoover and President Johnson on the day after the assassination outline the Director's suspicions that someone was impersonating Oswald in Mexico City. What's more, Hoover, who had both a tape recording and a photograph of the impersonator, told the president that they did not match the Oswald then jailed in Dallas.

CIA memos also describe two individuals. The Agency's Mexico City station cabled CIA headquarters on October 8, 1963 to the effect that someone named Lee Oswald, speaking poor Russian, had contacted the Soviet embassy there. The man photographed entering the embassy, according to the cable, was "35, athletic build, circa 6 feet, receding hairline, balding top," features that are not

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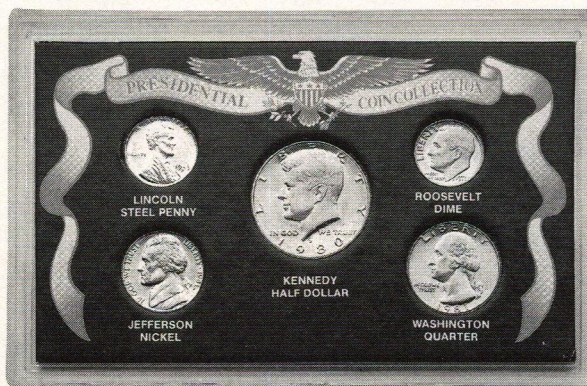
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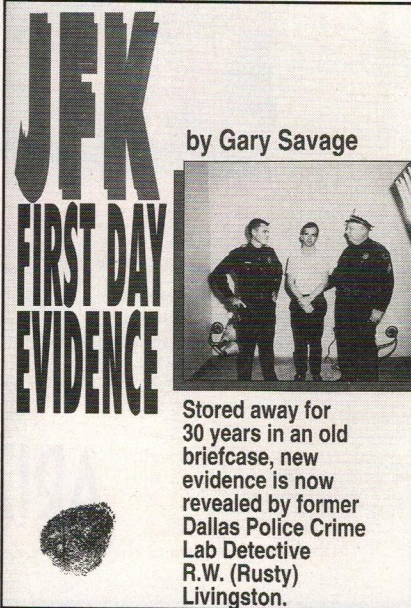
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descriptive of Oswald.

On October 10, CIA headquarters sent a memo to the State Department, the Navy, and the FBI regarding Oswald's contacts with the Soviets in Mexico City. In the communiqué, Oswald is described using the profile of the man provided by their Mexico City station, not of the Oswald who was well-known at CIA headquarters.

However, within two hours, the same CIA memo writer cabled the Agency's station in Mexico City that Oswald was 24 years old, 5'10" tall, weighed 165 pounds, and had light-brown, wavy hair and blue eyes. This cable used the name Lee Henry Oswald, the name the CIA cited when it first opened its 201 file on Oswald in 1960. It did not forthrightly tell the Mexico City station that the man they photographed was not the Oswald known at CIA headquarters.

Newman concludes that these two memos, written by the same person only hours apart, indicate a deliberate attempt by the CIA to mislead other agencies. The HSCA was also curious about the discrepancies, but could not resolve them. Regarding Oswald's Mexico City visit, Newman states: "Whether or not Oswald understood what was going on is less clear than the probability that something operational was happening in conjunction with his visit."

The second October 10, 1963 CIA memo also states: "Latest HDQS info was State Dept report dated May 1962 saying (redacted) had determined Oswald still US citizen and both he and his Soviet wife have exit permits and Dept State had given approval for their travel..." Still a U.S. citizen? Had not Oswald renounced his citizenship, threatened treason, sought Soviet citizenship, and married the daughter of a Soviet intelligence officer?

The reality is that Oswald had never lost his American citizenship. Although he had been in the Soviet Union for two weeks, Oswald waited until a Saturday to visit the U.S. embassy, which like most American embassies was closed on weekends and was staffed only by a duty officer. Only emergencies get weekend attention, with exceptions made at the duty officer's discretion. An American renouncing citizenship is not considered an emergency.

Oswald had slapped his passport on duty officer Richard Snyder's desk short-

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ly after 11 A.M. on October 31, 1959. Snyder tried to discourage Oswald from taking that move and then informed him that the paperwork could not be completed that day. He suggested Oswald return in a few days.

It is important to note that renouncing one's U.S. citizenship is not merely a verbal act; it requires a Certificate of Loss of Nationality—a procedure established by the Expatriation Act of 1907—which must be approved by the State Department in Washington. Oswald never returned to activate that certificate. In 1993, Snyder told Newman that Oswald's loud verbal declarations seemed intended more for KGB listening devices planted in the embassy than for him.

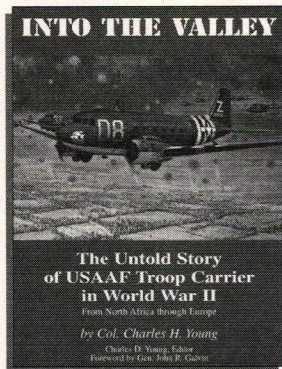
Following the assassination, the CIA claimed that they did not know that Oswald had gone to the Cuban embassy in Mexico City. Yet, in a 1994 interview, former CIA director Richard Helms admitted to Newman that the Agency knew all along that Oswald had been there. A CIA memo released in 1992 and dated November 25, 1963—only days after Kennedy's and Oswald's deaths—twice notes that the agency had an "OI"—operational intelligence—interest in Oswald. Neither the Warren Commission nor the HSCA saw this memo.

According to Newman, there is no documentary evidence to suggest an agency-wide CIA plot to kill Kennedy. But he added that "we can finally say with some authority that the CIA was spawning a web of deception about Oswald weeks before the president's murder, a fact that may have directly contributed to the outcome in Dallas."

Oswald's activities remain unclear. Some suggest that he was involved in a covert operation that at the last moment dovetailed into the assassination, with evidence planted against him. One can only wonder—if Oswald acted alone in killing President Kennedy—why so many files are still classified. As ARRB chairman John Tunheim of Minnesota told COPA researchers in October, 1995: "The JFK Records Act has given the American public an extraordinary look inside their government. As we have told government agencies, secrecy has its ramifications." ★

Roger S. Peterson is a marketing consultant and business writer from Rocklin, California, with a lifelong interest in the Kennedy assassination.

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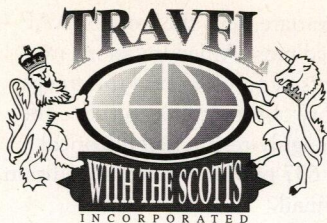


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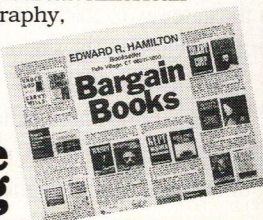
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DOWN THE COLORADO

continued from page 40

the boats down. Boats had to be unloaded and carried through boulders and talus in 120° temperatures on some days, chilling rains on others.

But with each passing day, the scenery became more and more magnificent: Powell noted in his diary for August 9 that "The walls of the canyon. . . are of marble, of many beautiful colors, often polished by the waves, and sometimes far up the sides, where showers have washed the sands over the cliffs. . ."

A moving entry in his diary on August 13 recorded that "We are now ready to start on our way down the Great Unknown. Our boats, tied to a common stake, chafe each other as they are tossed by the fretful river . . . We have but a month's rations remaining. The flour has been resifted through the mosquito-net sieve; the spoiled bacon has been dried and the worst of it boiled . . . We have an unknown distance yet to run, an unknown river to explore. What falls there are, we know not; what rocks beset the channel, we know not; what walls rise over the river, we know not. Ah, well! we may conjecture many things."

Two weeks later, mutiny threatened as the bone-weary men faced mile-high cliffs, short rations, and rushing water. Powell wrote in his diary that Captain Howland sought "to remonstrate against my determination to proceed. He thinks that we had better abandon the river here. . . [H]e, his brother, and William

Dunn have determined to go no farther in the boats."

Powell spent the night thinking, recalculating the distance ahead, the amount of rations remaining, and the chances of getting through the desert if they did succeed in climbing out of the canyon. Desperately wanting to continue the expedition, he woke the others one by one to ask if they would stay or go. His brother Walter agreed to stay, as did Billy Hawkins, Andy Hall, Sumner, and Bradley. At breakfast, knowing there were some who would stay, he put the choice to the whole group. O. G. Howland and Dunn were adamant in wanting to leave. Seneca Howland tried to persuade them to stay, but finally agreed to go out with them.

The party named the point of the trio's departure "Separation Rapid." Powell gave them guns and offered them part of the miserable rations, which they refused. With a solemn parting, the group broke in two, never to see each other again.

Before moving on, Powell decided to leave the *Emma Dean* behind. The boat

Despite his handicap—he had lost an arm in battle during the Civil War—Powell made his first trip down the Green and Colorado rivers standing on the prow of his pilot boat, watching for upcoming rapids and signaling those in the other craft. Determined to be more comfortable and to have more freedom to use his good arm, the intrepid explorer fastened an armchair to his pilot boat for the 1871-72 journey (below).



COLORADO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

had taken such a beating in the rapids that it was no longer watertight. Besides, there were now fewer men to handle the oars and few supplies left to be carried.

The trip at this point was no longer the "scientific" expedition Powell had intended. All of the instruments had been lost or broken, or had been left behind with the fossils and minerals they had collected. Yet, if they succeeded in making it through the granite-walled rush of water, they would have accomplished something no others had.

So down they went, fighting the rapids, sleeping at night in wet clothing on ledges so narrow that to roll over might mean plunging into the thundering river below. Finally, on August 29, some 13 weeks and 900 miles from the start of their journey, they drifted out from between the Grand Wash cliffs of the Grand Canyon to rolling, mountainous country. Elated, Powell wrote: "The river rolls by us in silent majesty; the quiet of the camp is sweet; our joy is almost ecstasy. We sit till long after midnight talking of the Grand Canyon, talking of home..."

Two days later, the bedraggled, starving group came to a wide spot in the riv-

er. There they saw three white men—Mr. Asa and his two sons—and an Indian hauling a seine. The white men were Mormons sent to the river by Brigham Young to look for debris that could have come from the Powell party, now reported as having been lost weeks ago.

The Indian was immediately dispatched to the Mormon town of St. Thomas to fetch any letters that might be waiting for members of the expedition. The news of the party's survival brought a wagon filled with food—bread, butter, cheese, melons—for the explorers. And the telegraph wires hummed with the news that the party was not only safe, but had indeed conquered the Colorado River.

The intrepid group soon disbanded. Sumner, Bradley, Hawkins, and Hall continued down the Colorado in the boats. Their aim was to travel to Fort Mojave, and then possibly continue overland from there to Los Angeles. Major Powell and his brother headed for St. Thomas, on their way to Salt Lake City. They inquired repeatedly about the three who had left the group at Separation Rapid.

When the news finally came, it was

not good. The Howland brothers and Dunn had made it up out of the canyon to the top of the plateau, but no farther. A party of Shivwit Indians, mistaking them for another group of white men who had murdered one of their women, killed all three.

When Powell reached Salt Lake City in September, newspaper reporters were there to greet him and hear his account of the fantastic adventure. Back in Normal, a hero's welcome awaited him. A flurry of lecture invitations and receptions engulfed Powell for a while, but then he began making plans for a second trip down the Colorado River.

Much of the data of the early part of the 1869 trip had been lost along the way, and during the latter part, the party had been more concerned with survival than with science. Powell knew that in order to accomplish his original purpose, he must undertake the trip again. This time, he would be fortified by knowledge instead of folklore; knew that he could not carry provisions for the entire trip, but instead should store caches of goods at points along the way; and planned to devote two or three

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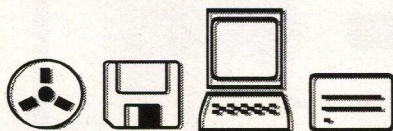
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years to the expedition.

Interaction with the Native Americans in the West was precarious in those years, and Powell wanted to make sure that he would enjoy good relationships with any whom he encountered. To this end, he visited Indian camps, learning their languages and their lore.

In May 1871—financed by a small congressional appropriation—the second Powell expedition rolled down the river toward the Grand Canyon. Wanting to be more comfortable this time, Powell acquired a sturdy armchair and had it tied to the middle bulkhead of the pilot boat. From this perch, he could watch the river ahead.

In addition to a brand new crew, Powell was accompanied by a photographer and an artist. This genuine scientific expedition would fill in the blanks left in the records of the previous trip.

When the journey, which was much less nerve-wracking than the first, was completed to his satisfaction, Powell went to Washington and fought for a single agency to sponsor the scattered explorations of the West that had been going on for some time. He brought earlier studies of America's indigenous people together; started a systematic study of Indian life; and published a series of pamphlets on their vocabularies, mortuary customs, sign language, medical practices, tribal governments, and mythology. His interest in the American Indian and his records of their ceremonies, culture, and folklore contributed toward the establishment in 1879 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, with Powell as its first director. He also helped to found the United States Geographical and Geological Survey, serving as its director from 1881 to 1894.

By his death in 1902 at the age of 68, Powell had become a leading authority on the American West—a distinguished geologist, scientist, and ethnologist, as well as the man who directed the path of development of the immense semiarid area of the country. But with all his achievements, he is still primarily remembered as an adventurer who explored and conquered the last unknown region within the continental United States. ★

Dr. Carolyn J. Hursch has taught psychology at the Universities of Colorado, Vermont, and Florida, and with her husband, has written a number of books about computers.

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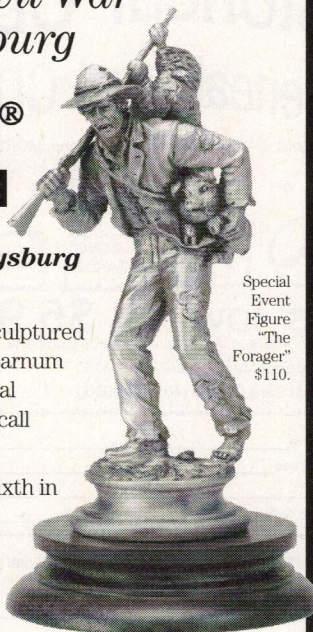
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print publishing never regained its pre-war foothold. But even when the fashion for display prints yielded to the more ephemeral craze for calendar art, examples that honored Lee still rolled off Northern presses. One typical 1906 calendar featured a handsome Lee portrait credited to a "Miss Dixie Washington Leach" of Raleigh, North Carolina. But it was published by the Osborn Art Company of New York City.

Many years after the war ended, one journalist could still report seeing print portraits of Robert E. Lee "everywhere in the South, in private as well as in public houses." Left unmentioned was the fact that each and every picture had been made in onetime enemy territory, by once-hostile firms now making a considerable profit by slaking the long-unquenched Southern thirst for pictures of their beloved hero.

Perhaps no picture project more poignantly reflected the South's own lost opportunity to depict its grandest son than the story of a painting originally titled *The Heroes of Chancellorsville*, portraying the final wartime meeting between Lee and Stonewall Jackson. The

huge canvas, some 13 by 10 feet in size, was created in 1869 by an ambitious young St. Louis artist named Everett B. D. Julio, who encased it in a stupendous gilded walnut frame topped by a carving of the Lee family crest.

First, Julio tried to give the colossal picture to Lee himself, but while the old general volunteered that the result was "spirited," he refused to accept it. The disappointed artist convinced himself that the "noble man . . . would not listen to the idea of my giving away my labor." But Julio had even more trouble selling it than he did attempting to give it to Lee. Exhibiting it from Memphis to New Orleans, he elicited good reviews but no buyers. City fathers rejected it, private sales failed to materialize, and even a "ladies' lottery" ended without a winner.

Yet, the evocative picture of the two generals on horseback, Lee gesturing nobly and Jackson listening in rapt attention, nonetheless became one of the greatest icons of the *Lost Cause*. Its fame was assured by a 26-inch by 20-inch engraved adaptation made in New York, which became an immediate best-seller and remained a favorite in Southern homes for

generations. It was reprinted as a chromolithograph in 1879 and issued yet again in 1907 as a photograph. All the adaptations came from Northern publishers.

As for the original painting, now universally referred to as *The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson*—the title of its first, made-in-New York engraving—it remained unsold until artist Julio's death in 1879, when it was acquired by a private owner to settle the painter's unpaid debts. Only recently did it come into the possession of the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, where it has finally been placed on permanent public display for the first time.

It had long been a cherished icon in the old Confederacy. But, like all the popular prints that ever celebrated Robert E. Lee, and most of those that paid tribute to the Lost Cause he exemplified, it had been made for the South in the North. ★

Harold Holzer's newest book, The Civil War: 1861-1865, part of the Witness to War series, was published in May by Perigee Books. The author is grateful to Mark E. Neely, Jr., and Gabor S. Boritt, in association with whom he undertook much of the research for this article.

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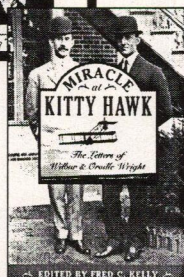
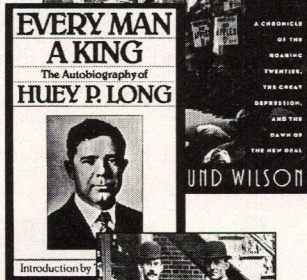
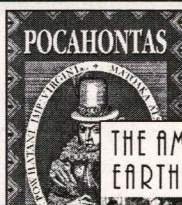
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Americans wishing to join in the celebration of the automotive industry centennial in 1996 can visit a number of museums and attractions around the country dedicated to preserving the history of one of the most important inventions of the modern era.

Spurred by this important anniversary, the **Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village** (HFM&GV) in Dearborn, Michi-

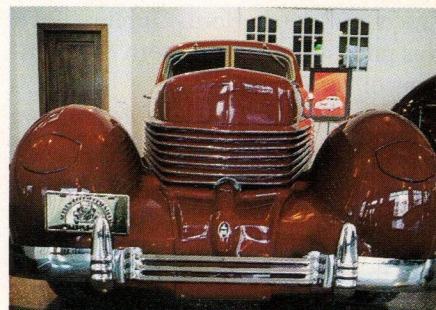
space in the larger display is now occupied by the "Quadricycle," the first car built—also in 1896—by Henry Ford, the man whose mass production of the automobile made the then-new means of transportation more readily available to consumers. Visitors to the museum village can once again tour the Henry Ford Birthplace, recently restored following a fire in October 1995. Later this year, the HFM&GV will open a new permanent exhibition high-

lighting the life of Ford as an innovator and industrialist.

After being housed for more than fifty years on the campus of Northland College in Midland, Michigan, the **Automotive Hall of Fame** (313-240-4000) has moved in this centennial year to a site immediately adjacent to the HFM &GV. Its new quarters

is a contemporary, granite-and-glass structure dedicated to the men and women who have had a major impact on the auto industry and the way Americans live. The stories of all those who have been inducted into the Hall of Fame—including such contributors to the industry's advancement as Lee Iacocca, Soichiro Honda, Harvey Firestone, and Albert C. Champion—are told through informative interactive exhibits.

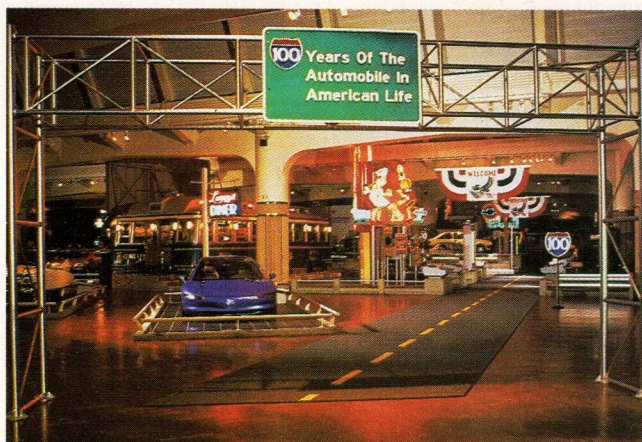
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Auburn-Cord-Duesenberg Museum in Auburn, Indiana (219-925-1444), where more than a hundred classic vehicles are displayed in the art-deco sales showroom of the Auburn Automobile Company, producer of America's greatest luxury cars of the 1920s and '30s. In addition to examples of the three marques manufactured by the Auburn Automobile Company, the museum also boasts luxury cars produced by Packard, Cadillac, and Rolls Royce, as well as steam and electric cars, and automotive art and memorabilia.

To celebrate the sport of auto racing, **Daytona USA** (904-947-6782) will open at Daytona Beach, Florida, on July 5. This entertainment complex will allow guests to experience the excitement of auto racing and relive the history of the sport through interactive exhibits. The highlight of the new attraction will be the "Bluebird V," which was returned to Daytona Beach in March. The 29-foot-long, 12,000-pound racer, with a 2,227-cubic-inch V-12 engine, set the land-speed record in 1935 with a posted speed of 276.82 miles per hour. ★



"HIGHWAY 100"

gan (313-271-1620), has revamped its acclaimed exhibition "The Automobile in American Life." Installed in 1987, the popular display was the first major exhibition to highlight motor vehicles in context. Rather than simply spruce up the existing exhibit elements, the museum staff devised "Highway 100," a two-lane "roadway" that winds through 60,000 square feet of recreated American landscape—urban and rural, past and present—providing visitors with a view of the automobile industry's profound and far-ranging influence. Included in the display are an actual 1960s Holiday Inn room, a 1930s Texaco service station, a 1940s diner, a 1950s McDonald's sign, and a recreated camp ground.

In connection with the anniversary, the museum has moved the only existing 1896 Duryea Motor Wagon—whose manufacture by Charles E. and J. Frank Duryea a century ago marked the beginning of the auto industry—from the exhibition to a place of prominence; its parking



BLUEBIRD V

"ZITO HELLAS!"

continued from page 53

Major Papadiamantopoulos galloped into the arena and hurried to the royal box. Swiftly, the word got around and the cry "Ellenas! Ellenas!" ("A Greek! A Greek!") filled the air. Louis, covered with dust, soon appeared in the stadium's marble entranceway, and the Greek royal princes, Constantine and George, ran to the finish line at his side, as thousands of white pigeons were released into the air.

This early moment in Olympic history is still one of the greatest; indeed, one Olympic historian has said that "more than any single event, the victory of Spiridon Louis served as an inspiration to keep the Olympics going through the hard times that the movement faced over the next 12 years." The Americans were just as pleased as the Greeks with Louis's stirring victory. Curtis was well satisfied that the Games "ended on this happy and thrilling note."

For the athletes, the end of competition meant the beginning of festivities. The American squad lingered in Athens for about ten days more, attending innumerable parties, including a reception on the *San Francisco* and a banquet hosted by the widow of the famed archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, the discoverer of ancient Troy who had died some five and a half years before.

Athenian shopkeepers grabbed the young men off the street and invited them to take what they wished. A highlight of their stay was a picnic with the Greek royal family in the Vale of Daphne, during which the Americans tried to initiate the Greek princes into the mysterious rites of baseball by demonstrating with a walking stick and an orange. Prince George was the pitcher, Crown Prince Constantine the catcher, and Thomas Curtis the batter. On the prince's first pitch, the orange was neatly sliced in two by Curtis's swing, its halves splattering the front of Constantine's best court uniform. Fortunately, Curtis said, the prince was "a good sport."

With the arrival of the American Olympians and their baseball, chewing gum, and collegiate cheers, Greece, an isolated country that had gained its independence from Turkey only 66 years earlier, was getting, with some amusement, what amounted to its first close-

up look at American culture. When, in 1932, Curtis came to record his memories of the first Olympics, he mused on this fact with rue: "If we had only known then about the movies and Hollywood and Henry Ford and mass production, we might have considered ourselves the advance agents of Americanization, and committed suicide."

More festivities awaited the athletes when they returned to the United States. The Princetonians were met by a crowd of approximately one thousand people when they arrived at the train station, and the Boston contingent were feted at an official reception at Faneuil Hall and a banquet at the Vendome Hotel.

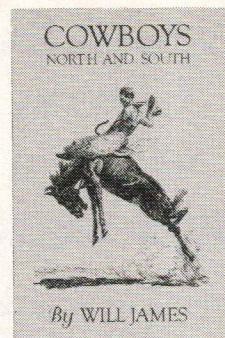
To be sure, the 1896 Olympics were cobbled together in a hurry, and many of the athletes may not have been the world's finest. In addition, the Games saw such amusing episodes as the frigid swimming races and Garrett's bizarre victory in the discus.

These factors might give the impression that the first Games were a crude beginning of an event that gradually got better and better. But in fact, the 1896 Games were run with panache and efficiency by the Greeks, who set a standard that proved difficult to match. The next three Olympics—although they attracted more participants—were much less successful because of numerous disputes and poor planning by the organizers from the host countries. The Olympics could easily have died if the Swedes had not been so successful in staging the 1912 Games in Stockholm. (It was in Stockholm that the Native-American athlete, Jim Thorpe, scored his astonishing victories in the pentathlon and decathlon.)

As the Athens Games receded in memory, they began to be recalled not so much as a primitive forerunner of today's modern extravaganzas, but as a golden burst of rejuvenation. As Clark put it in his memoir: "Other Olympic games held later were to attract greater numbers of athletes, were to result in the making of more remarkable records, but for the *time* itself, nothing could equal this first revival. . . . [T]here is but one first time in everything, and that first time was gloriously, and in a manner ever to be remembered, the privilege of the American team of 1896." ★

New York writer Joseph Gustaitis is a frequent contributor to American History magazine.

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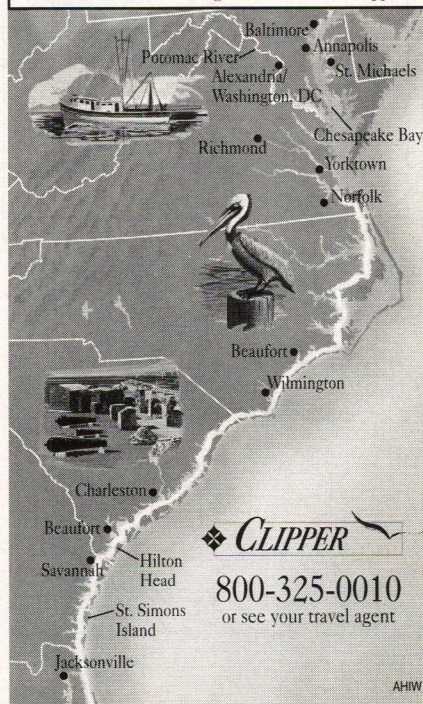
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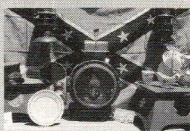
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THE STEAMER AGE

continued from page 20

and became a legend in the Kingfield area, where the Stanley twins were born.

The brothers' publicity efforts for the Locomobile Company climaxed in 1899 when F. O. visited the White House in Washington, D.C., and presented his engraved card to President William McKinley. "I've heard of you, Mr. Stanley," the president said. "You recently invented a steam-propelled horseless carriage, did you not?" "Yes, Mr. President," F. O. replied, "and I have called to inquire if you will do me the favor of witnessing a demonstration of my invention, at your convenience, and perhaps take a short ride in it."

Warily, the president asked: "Are you quite sure the contraption is safe? You know, as Chief Executive, I must refrain from taking unnecessary risks." Assured that there was not the slightest danger, McKinley became the first U.S. president to ride in an automobile. Stanley commented that the "news that the President has recognized horseless carriages as a new mode of travel will stimulate interest in the further development of these machines. I venture to predict that within a few years they will be a commonplace means of transportation."

But McKinley apparently did not enjoy his Steamer ride very much. He is said to have later told a friend that throughout the jaunt he "expected every minute to be blown to bits," or that the vehicle would get out of control and run away with him and its inventor. "Stanley's over-optimistic, I think, when he says those things will some day replace horses," McKinley is said to have remarked.

By 1900, more than 1,600 steam cars were operating in America, compared to only 900 gas-powered vehicles. A *McClure's Magazine* advertisement for the Locomobile boasted that the \$600 auto ran at a speed of forty miles an hour. But competitions, not ads, kept the steamer car's reputation growing. In 1902, the Stanley brothers bought their patents back from Walker and organized the Stanley Motor Carriage Company.

At the turn of the century, steam was clearly the preferred means of powering automobiles. It required a rather simple mechanism. Water, kept in a 24-gallon tank under the frame, was pumped into

a drum-shaped, fire-tube boiler under the hood. A kerosene burner turned the water into steam, building up hundreds of pounds of pressure quickly, easily, and safely. The steam then drove a two-cylinder engine that was directly connected to turn the rear axle.*

The simplicity of the steam car made it particularly attractive. The absence of moving parts made it simple to operate and extremely quiet. "Control," said the promotional literature, "is . . . the only thing the steam car driver has to think of—and this rests in a single small lever on the steering wheel."

Salesmen peddling gas-powered vehicles warned potential customers that Stanley Steamers required a good deal of technical knowledge and were liable to blow up, thus posing a danger to all aboard. In reality, no case of a Steamer blowing up was ever reported; gas vehicles, however, possessed a crank starter known to have broken many a wrist.

By 1906, despite increasing competition with gas-powered cars, the Stanley Steamer seemed to have its future secured, thanks to the world speed record set that year by Marriott in the Rocket. And at the 1907 Ormond Beach race, the Stanley Steamer promised to establish another, even faster time. But fewer competitors showed up that year. Not wishing to be embarrassed once again

* The early Stanley—the Locomobile—was run by a chain drive connected to a vertical engine under the car seat. When the Stanleys bought the business back in 1902, they were sued by George Eli Whitney, patent holder of that chain mechanism. The problem was solved by connecting the engine directly to the rear axle, making the Steamer a direct drive vehicle.



THE STANLEY MUSEUM, INC.

by the Rocket, most European automobile makers stayed home.

The 1907 Stanley entry was an improved model of the Rocket—16 feet long and 3 feet wide at its widest point, with a steam pressure of 1,300 pounds, 400 pounds more than the 1906 model's capacity. When it rolled out on January 25 for what promised to be its definitive speed run, the sands were particularly hard-packed and driver Marriott noticed at once that the track surface was risky. "There were rough spots and places where the sea water had gathered in pools after the tide dropped and had left impressions," he later recalled. "I didn't think too much of these dips at the time, but I did know they could be dangerous to a car skimming over them at high speed. Anyway, I gave the signal to go ahead with the timing run."

With its throttle open all the way, the Rocket's speed grew to a breakneck pace. Every spectator was on his feet, eyes peeled. Then something happened. "About one third of the way," Marriott remembered, "the car took a slight dip in one of those shallow spots and we took to the air. People who saw it said I went up about fifteen to eighteen feet and came down on the sand more than a hundred feet from where the Rocket hit again and blew up."

Reports of the accident stated that the vehicle flew into the air, twisted, crashed, and broke in two. The Steamer was buried upside down in the sand, and some auto parts, including the boiler, were strewn along the beach. The driver's section of the car was thrown clear of the boiler, and the unconscious Mar-

riott landed face-down in the water.

A doctor rushed to the scene to examine Marriott, who suffered four cracked ribs, a broken breastbone, and a cut through his left cheek. His right eye had popped from its socket and had to be spooned back into place. As the injured driver was carried away, a hush fell over the spectators who mingled around the ruins of the racer.

Augusta May Stanley recorded the day's events in her diary. "Truly," she wrote, "this is Black Friday. I can hardly write I am in such a nervous condition. And it is all so dreadful. Oh! Why did we come down to this horrible place. . . . The car was dashed to atoms—and Fred inside!"

Fortunately, Marriott recovered quickly. A month after the accident, he was healthy enough to serve as a judge in another auto competition. But after the crash, the Stanley Steamer never made a racing comeback; Mrs. Stanley would not allow it. "That was the last time we raced," Marriott said. "The Stanleys would never build another racer; they said it was risky." In fact, the Stanley brothers, shocked by what had happened, especially at the near loss of life, turned completely away from racing and most other types of promotion for their vehicles.

Not until 1910, when legendary race

A near-disaster occurred in 1907 when Fred Marriott attempted to beat his own record in the Stanley racer at Ormond Beach. Miraculously, he was not seriously injured in the wreck (below) that resulted when he lost control of the racer, whose parts were strewn along the beach. Frightened by the close call, the Stanleys never raced again.



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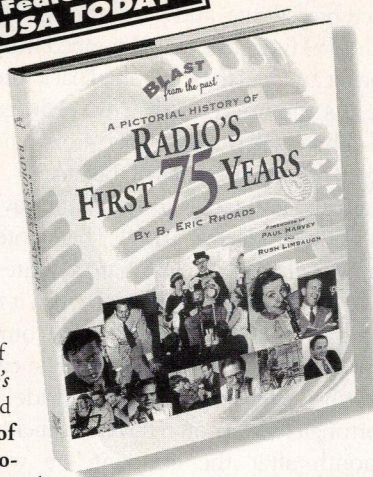
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driver Barney Oldfield took the wheel of a powerful Blitzen Benz, was the land speed record set by Marriott in the Rocket broken with a new mark of 131.7 miles an hour. By 1913, the supremacy of the gas-powered automobile was established, the invention of the automatic self-starter having eliminated the unpopular and dangerous crank. Now, even the least mechanically inclined person could master the starter without fear. With other improvements to gas-powered vehicles, Henry Ford created the high demand that led to automobile mass-production.

Although it was not known at the time, steam as a power source for automobiles was on its way out as soon as it began. Marriott's 1907 accident probably hastened its demise. Not only did it add to the public perception of danger in the Stanley Steamer's design, it caused the brothers, who did not believe in advertising, to lose interest in promoting their vehicles through racing. And when salesmen for gas-powered vehicles concocted rumors about the shortcomings, danger, and complexity of the Steamer, the Stanleys failed to counter with accurate information. By 1917, F. E. and F. O. had removed themselves from the business, and in 1924, the Stanley Motor Carriage Company ceased production.

On July 31, 1918, F. E., the Steamer's primary inventor, was involved in an automobile accident in Massachusetts and died in an ambulance on his way to the hospital. His brother lived to the age of 91, passing away on October 2, 1940.

Marriott, who entered only a few races after the Ormond incident, maintained his connection with the Stanley interests until 1919, two years after the brothers themselves had left the business. Borrowing money from F. O. Stanley, he opened a garage that, during its early years, catered to all those who owned Stanley vehicles around the world. He died in 1956 at the age of 83.

While it is true that the Rocket's 1906 speed has been eclipsed many times since then by more powerful engines, the record still stands for vehicles in the weight and horsepower class of "the Flying Teapot." Quite simply, there never was another car like it. ★

Jerry LeBlanc is a scientific, environmental, and travel writer whose latest book is titled Guide to Java and Bali.

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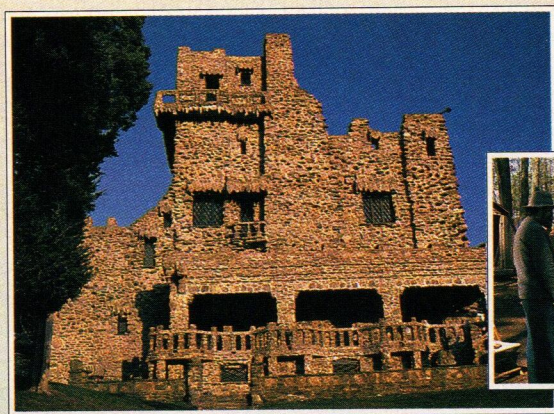
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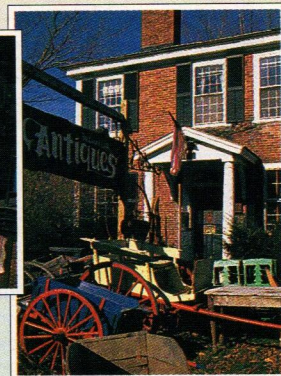
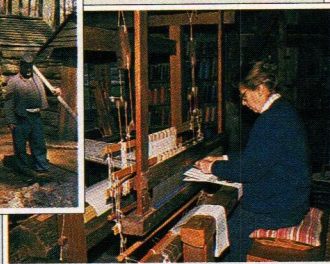
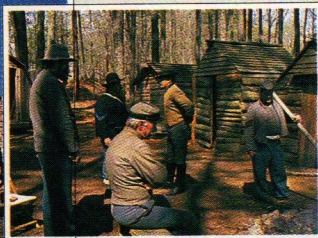
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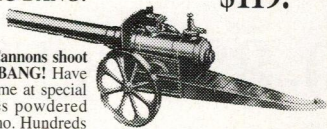
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BOOKSHELF

continued from page 10

prehensive study celebrates the achievements of the black women who overcame discrimination to become members of the United States Olympic teams. Excluded by the ancient Greeks from taking part in Olympic competition, women finally got that right with the modern Olympics' Paris Games of 1900. But it was not until 32 years later that the first African-American women were chosen for a U. S. squad. Among the 25 athletes whose stories Plowden tells here are Alice Coachman, who in the 1948 London Games became the first African-American woman to win an Olympic gold medal; Earlene Brown, recognized by many as one of the greatest athletes ever to qualify for the finals in the shot put; and Florence Griffith-Joyner, who in the Korean Games of 1988, became the first American woman to win four medals in a single Olympics.

INTO THE VALLEY,

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by Colonel Charles H. Young (Print-Comm Inc., 615 pages, \$43.00). The author—who as commanding officer of the 439th Troop Carrier Group led 81 aircraft into Normandy shortly after midnight on D-Day, June 6, 1944, and who flew on many other major combat missions in France, Italy, the Ardennes, and Germany—has assembled a collection of journal entries, pilot logs, letters, official records, and newspaper clippings to recount the story of the heroic men of the United States Army Air Force's Troop Carrier Command. Members of troop carrier units generally stayed together for their division's entire tour of duty, resulting in the development of a closeness between air and ground hierarchies not usually experienced by other military personnel. Young provides an inside look at the realities of life in the flying units that airlifted the troops into battle through accounts given by combat pilots, nurses who worked alongside the flight crews, enlisted soldiers, commanders, and even a few German frontline soldiers.

INVENTION IN AMERICA

by Russell Bourne (Fulcrum Publishing, 160 pages, \$32.95). Complemented by seldom-seen images from the Library of

Congress, Bourne's work spotlights the wide range of inventions that changed America from an agricultural society to an industrialized one during the years 1790-1920. Highlighted are Eli Whitney's (1765-1825) cotton gin; Samuel Colt's (1814-62) revolver; Elias Howe's (1819-67) sewing machine; Samuel Morse's (1791-1872) telegraph; Alexander Graham Bell's (1847-1922) telephone; and the many inventions of Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), who set up the U.S. Patent Office to protect the rights of inventors.

DRAWN WITH THE SWORD: REFLECTIONS ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

by James McPherson (Oxford University Press, 258 pages, \$25.00). McPherson, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Battle Cry of Freedom*, here addresses many of the most enduring questions about the Civil War—including whether Northern or Southern aggression began the conflict—and offers memorable depictions of some of the great leaders on both sides of the struggle. In his final chapter, McPherson argues that professional historians have abandoned narrative history in favor of scholarly books that focus on minor historical details of interest only to other academics, thus leaving the historical education of the public in the hands of those producing film and television programs on the subject.

TITUBA, RELUCTANT WITCH OF SALEM: DEVILISH INDIANS AND PURITAN FANTASIES

by Elaine G. Breslaw (New York University Press, 280 pages, \$24.95). The enigmatic life of Tituba, the West Indian slave who in 1692 was one of the first three women accused of witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts, unfolds in this well researched biography. Dividing her work into two sections, Breslaw first treats Tituba's early life as a slave in Barbados, where her ideas were shaped by a combination of English, American Indian, and African customs and folklore. The author then focuses on Tituba's life in Massachusetts, where she confessed to the charges of witchcraft brought against her. Tituba's confession initiated a witch-hunt that, before it ended, brought about the execution of 19 people and the imprisonment of more than 150. ★

MADAM C. J. WALKER

continued from page 47

cy—it probably did not surprise Walker and the others when he declined to meet with them, dispatching instead his secretary, Joseph Patrick Tumulty. The group had every reason to be insulted, but they were not deterred, using their energy later that day on Capitol Hill to lobby senators and congressmen for an anti-lynching bill and a congressional investigation into the riots.

A few weeks later, at their first annual Walker agents' convention in Philadelphia, Walker advised the delegates and guests "to remain loyal to our homes, our country and our flag" despite the recent violence. Aware of the sensitive, wartime atmosphere—and stalwart in her support of the black American troops in Europe—Walker reminded her audience, "This is the greatest country under the sun. But we must not let our love of country, our patriotic loyalty cause us to abate one whit in our protest against wrong and injustice. We should protest until the American sense of justice is so aroused that such affairs as the East St. Louis riot be forever impossible."

For the rest of her life, Walker used her wealth and visibility to promote social and political causes in which she believed and to encourage women to pursue business opportunities and economic independence. By the time she died in 1919 at her estate in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, she had helped to create the role of the twentieth-century, self-made American businesswoman; established herself as a pioneer of the modern black hair-care and cosmetics industry; and had set standards in the African-American community for corporate and community giving.

Tenacity and perseverance, faith in herself and in God, quality products and "honest business dealings" were the elements and strategies she prescribed for aspiring entrepreneurs who requested the secret to her rags-to-riches ascent. "There is no royal flower-strewn path to success," she once commented. "And if there is, I have not found it for if I have accomplished anything in life it is because I have been willing to work hard." ★

Al'elia Perry Bundles is Madam Walker's great-great-granddaughter and biographer. She is presently writing a biography of four generations of Walker women for Scribner.

"If the tactics of the Federals had been equal to their strategy, we should have been beaten."

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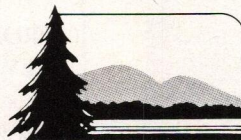
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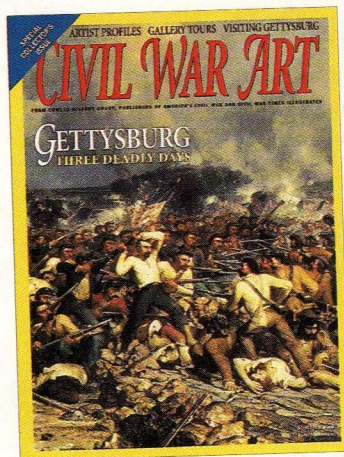
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HISTORY TODAY

continued from page 9

certs; visits by modern and historic vessels to the Niagara River; and formal commemoration ceremonies featuring speakers from the U.S. and Canada. Additional events are planned at Fort George, whose establishment across the Niagara in Ontario was occasioned by the surrender of Fort Niagara to the Americans.

Situated at the mouth of the Niagara River, the site was first fortified by the French in 1679 to control access to the Great Lakes and the interior of the continent. The British wrested the post from the French in 1759, during the French and Indian War (1754-1763), and held it, along with other Great Lakes forts, through the Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Although the Treaty of Paris signed in 1783 called for Britain to relinquish control of the posts along the Great Lakes in northern New York, its troops remained in possession of the forts until 1796, two years after the signing of the Jay Treaty, whose provisions put an end to the disputes surrounding these strategically important outposts. Captured again by the British during the War of 1812, Fort Niagara was returned to American control by the 1814 Treaty of Ghent that ended the conflict.

PROPOSAL FOR NEW GETTYSBURG MUSEUM

This spring the National Park Service (NPS) submitted for community review and comment a draft plan for a new museum and visitor center at Pennsylvania's Gettysburg National Military Park, the 5,733-acre preserve dedicated to those who fell during the three-day Civil War battle of July 1863. Plans for the proposed \$43-million facility require outside investors and call for a complex big enough to house a visitor center; an auditorium; permanent and temporary museum galleries; display space for the cyclorama painting "The High Tide of the Confederacy"; and administration offices. The proposal, which is opposed by preservationists concerned about the battlefield's integrity, would, according to supporters, relieve currently inadequate display and storage conditions at the historic site and arrest the ongoing deterioration of the cyclorama and the park's 35,000 Civil War artifacts, one of the nation's largest collections of such material.

The new facility's size would also enable staffers to broaden the current museum's themes, now limited to battle action and tactics, to a more comprehensive interpretation of Gettysburg's role in the war and allow for the rehabilitation of the historic landscape.

TNT PRESENTS "CRAZY HORSE"

On July 7, Turner Network Television will air a two-hour dramatized account of the life of the Oglala Sioux, Crazy Horse (1842?-1877), who resisted the U.S. government's efforts to force western Plains Indians onto reservation "islands" during the 1870s. The film, an adaptation of Pulitzer Prize-winner Robert Schenkken's script, is the fifth and most ambitious installment in Turner Broadcasting System's Native-American programming initiative, which seeks to bring historical Indian figures and events to cable television.

Crazy Horse, who had led more than a thousand Sioux and Cheyenne back to the Black Hills of South Dakota, rose up, along with Sitting Bull, against the invasion of their sacred lands by miners drawn there by news of lucrative gold discoveries. A year after the Sioux and Cheyenne annihilated General George Armstrong Custer (1839-76) and his men at the Little Big Horn River, Crazy Horse surrendered; he died in 1877, after being stabbed by a military guard while in captivity.

HISTORY MAGAZINE FOR KIDS LAUNCHED

This past May, a new publication—*Time Machine: The American History Magazine for Kids*—became available at newsstands and bookstores nationwide. Vowing to make American history exciting and entertaining for children between the ages of 9 and 14, the new periodical is published by American Historical Publications in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. Each of the eight heavily illustrated issues that will appear during a school year will be devoted to a particular theme, with articles providing a thorough examination of the chosen topic from a variety of perspectives. The inaugural issue, available throughout the summer, focuses on the history of the Olympic Games; future themes will include "Back to School," "Columbus and Early Explorers," and "Presidential Elections." For more information call 800-742-5401. ★

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July/August 1996

VISA



TIME CAPSULE

continued from page 74

building apartments on the site circulated, Steeplechase's iron-and-glass pavilion and its ferris wheels bowed to the wrecking ball. But somehow, the Jump, stripped of its chairs and chutes, managed to survive.

During the next two decades, the tower's future pitched and heaved much as the parachutes once did. The city purchased the Steeplechase grounds in 1969 and put the Jump on the auction block, but no bidders came forward. In 1977, the city's Board of Estimate rejected a proposal to name the Jump a landmark. By that time, the forsaken ride probably owed its survival only to the leisurely pace of the municipality, which never found the time to demolish it.

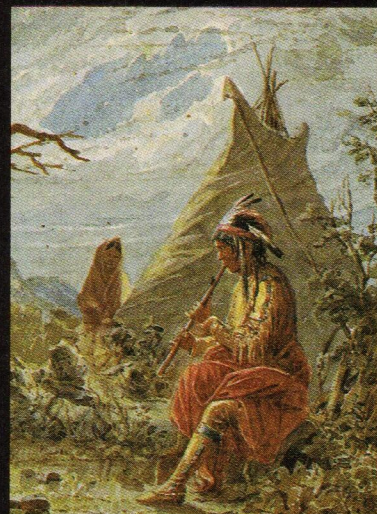
Meanwhile, rivets and cross bars bristled with rust, and passers-by became wary of treading below the fraying cables that whipped around in the Atlantic winds. As time took its toll, several proposals for the Jump's use were put forward. Two entrants in a Municipal Art Society competition for a new design for Manhattan's Times Square even suggested the Jump be moved to 42nd Street.

With its battleship-grade construction, the Jump probably would have survived such a move. The same faultless engineering that made demolition too expensive allowed Strong's behemoth to stand into the 1980s, by which time historic preservation had finally won a place in the public consciousness. Soon grass and transplanted trees replaced the broken landscape of Steeplechase Park. Landmark status for the Jump came at last in 1989, and in 1991, the city set aside \$800,000 for desperately needed repairs.

Today, despite the continued uncertainty of the Steeplechase property's future, the Jump, its feet re-anchored, rises skyward with a fresh coat of red paint. To some, its landmark protection is an example of preservation taken to extremes. The Jump is and probably will remain functionally useless, since the cost of reopening it as a ride is prohibitive and few other uses can be found for a 262-foot-tall skeleton. For many New Yorkers, however, usefulness is beside the point. To them, the grandiose ghost of the past, having survived all efforts to destroy it, stands as a symbol of a simpler age. ★

—Robert Klara

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TIME CAPSULE

objects in history

BROOKLYN'S EIFFEL TOWER

The newest generation of sunbathers in today's Coney Island—the oceanfront amusement strip in New York City's borough of Brooklyn—is too young to recall the glory days of decades past, when dance halls and gilded carousels reigned on the boardwalk. But they still know the “Parachute Jump,” which, thanks to a recent restoration by the city's parks department, continues to dominate the horizon

as an enduring symbol of a grander time. Dubbed “the Eiffel Tower of Brooklyn,” it rises like a steel geyser from the beachscape and has a history as long and complicated as the shadow it casts.

Retired Naval Commander James H. Strong invented and built his first mechanical jumps in the 1930s to train paratroopers. However, taking the plunge became so popular with daring civilians who passed his New Jersey

property that he opened a two-hundred-foot “Pair-O-Chutes” jump in Chicago's Riverside Park in 1936. Three years later, he brought a mammoth version of his ride



BROOKLYN HISTORICAL SOCIETY



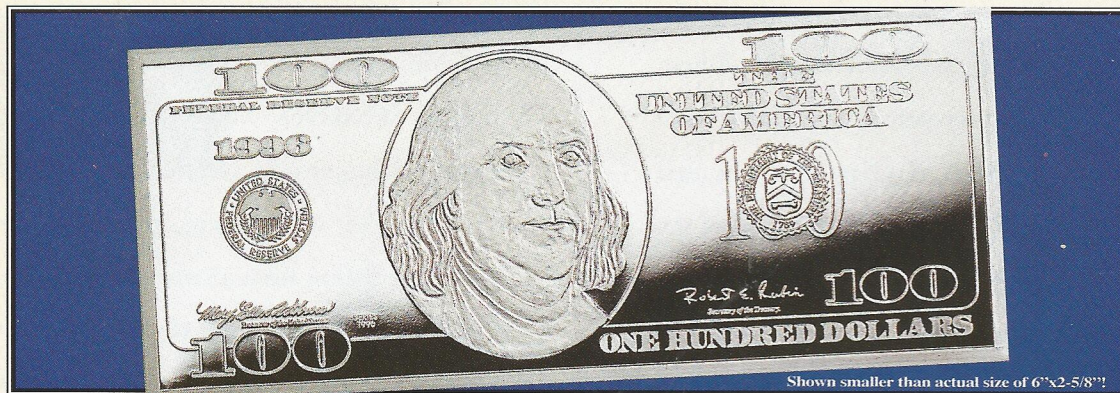
to the New York World's Fair in the borough of Queens. Riders boarded two-person, porch-swing-style chairs to be hoisted more than two hundred feet into the summer sky. After reaching the top, they experienced a horrifying, split-second free fall before the steel-ribbed parachutes opened to carry them gently back to earth. Some 500,000 visitors paid forty cents apiece for the brief thrill.

When the fair closed in 1940, the Tilyou brothers—owners of Coney Island's popular Steeplechase Park—bought Strong's contraption for \$150,000 and moved it to the boardwalk, where it continued to excite countless thousands. When Steeplechase—“The Funny Place,” as it was known—closed in 1965, the Jump lingered for three years in the ramshackle company of the few surviving rides. As talk of

continued on page 73

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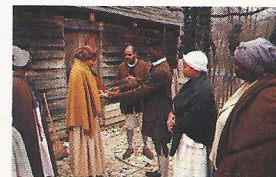
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